CAUSES AND EFFECTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

EDWIN W. MORSE

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CAUSES AND EFFECTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

"SANTA MARIA," FLAGSHIP OF COLUMBUS'S FLEET, IN DUPLICATE.

Arriving at New York from Spain, in 1893, to take part in the World's Columbian Exposition.

CAUSES AND EFFECTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

THE STORY OF THE ORIGIN
AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION

BY

EDWIN W. MORSE

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, FACSIMILES, AND MAPS

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TO

EVERY LOVER OF HIS COUNTRY
WHO HAS PRIDE IN ITS PAST
AND FAITH IN ITS FUTURE

PREFACE

Few things are drier or duller than the bare facts of history. Few things are more interesting than the reasons why great events happened as they did and why the consequences of these happenings were what they were. Few things are more difficult than to prevent a multiplicity of details from crowding into an historical picture and from obscuring what is essential, significant, important.

This narrative ignores details. It deals not so much with facts as with causes and effects—with the large currents of thought, feeling, and action which from generation to generation, especially through the economic and intellectual influences of each period, have modified and shaped the destinies of the American people. The purpose of the book is thus to supply to the imagination a key to the real meaning of the evolutions, often complex and apparently confusing, of the historical pageant as it passes across the stage.

If this purpose has been accomplished with the simplicity, clearness, and accuracy for which the author has striven throughout, the book should prove equally serviceable as an introduction to American history which, by indicating its larger relations of cause and effect, will inspire younger readers with a zeal for further and more intimate study, and as an interpretation of American history which may give a new meaning to facts already famil-

iar to older readers. Both of these classes of readers will find that the emphasis in this account of the development of the nation has been laid not upon the evolution of political parties, except in so far as parties became the instruments for the advancement of great political, economic, or moral ideas, but upon the important parts which intellectual and religious freedom, industrial and commercial activity, and even literature and the fine arts, not to include other kindred influences, have played in shaping the life of the people.

A glance at the illustrations will suffice to show that they have been selected solely for their historical value as a pictorial commentary, contemporaneous whenever possible, upon the more salient features of the narrative.

E. W. M.

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CAUSES AND EFFECTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

A VIKING WAR-VESSEL.

Exhumed at Gogstad, Norway: 78 feet in length, 17 feet in beam; with 16 oar-holes on each side.

I

DISCOVERERS

How happened it that the Northmen were the discoverers of America? In the last quarter of the ninth century there was a great migration from Norway of petty princes and their followers. Having lost their independence in a desperate naval battle in 872, thousands of them chose to abandon Norway rather than remain as vassals of the victorious king, Harold Fairhair.

These men were of a hardy, venturesome, seafaring race. They were called Vikings, not because they were kingly either in character or in bearing, but because they fitted out their ships in the *viks*, which was the Norwegian name for the deep bays that indent the coast of that rugged land. The sea had no terrors for them; they knew it in all its moods. They had both courage and skill, and sailed these wild northern waters without fear. One of their smaller fighting vessels for use along the coast was unearthed a few years ago in a good state of preservation, and is now to be seen at Christiania.

When these Vikings left their homes in Norway some of them sailed away to France, others to England, Scotland or Ireland, and more yet to Iceland, across six hundred miles of ocean to the west, where they established a colony. So many of their fellow-countrymen followed them that before many years Iceland had a flourishing population of

fifty thousand. This colony of Northmen had been in existence more than a hundred years when one of its members, Eric the Red, became so dangerous, through the murders which he and his followers committed, that he was declared an outlaw. The sea offered the easiest and surest means of escape to safety, and Eric the Red sailed away.

It was common rumor among the Vikings of that day that land of some sort—an island, probably—lay not far to the westward, and Eric the Red set out to see for himself if this report were true. As a matter of fact, of which Eric the Red was of course ignorant, Greenland at its nearest point lay only half as far, about two hundred and fifty miles, to the northwest as Scotland was to the southeast, so that the distance for a Viking ship and a Viking crew of those days was comparatively short. Voyages of five and six hundred miles were common occurrences to the Northmen. They had to make voyages of this length in order to find markets for the oil, skins, wool and fish in which they traded.

It was in 983 that Eric the Red set sail from Iceland and, after a short voyage to the westward, landed on the coast of Greenland. With something of the assurance of a modern real-estate promoter, he called this snow-and-ice-clad country Greenland in the hope and belief that the name would be alluring to settlers. He made his home in the new land and spent several years in exploring the south and west coasts.

At the end of the century Eric's son Leif, leaving Norway as a missionary in the service of King Olaf to proclaim Christianity in Greenland, was carried by adverse winds

far to the south of his destination, and discovered a land thereafter called Vinland, where there were "self-sown wheat [wild rice] fields and vines growing." Leif made his way northward to the Greenland settlements with this news, and as a result other ships voyaged to the south, to Labrador, Newfoundland and even Nova Scotia, the explorers bringing back descriptions of the strange lands they had found and of the natives whom they had encountered. Modern scholarship identifies Labrador as the Helluland, Newfoundland as the Markland and Nova Scotia as the Vinland of the Icelandic sagas in which these voyages are described, although there are those who argue that the Northmen came further south than Nova Scotia. Greenland remained a Norse colony for four centuries, but the Northmen made no effort of which there is any record to extend their colonies to the south. The reason is supposed to have been the lack of weapons with which to conquer the natives, whom they first encountered in Nova Scotia. The Spaniards and English of five centuries later were better armed.

Great achievements are never the result of sudden inspiration; they are more often accidental, as in the case of Leif Ericsson's discovery of Vinland, or the fruit of patient investigation, research, reflection, preparation. Years, oftentimes generations, pass before the vision of the poet or philosopher is shared by the man of action who has energy and scientific knowledge sufficient to turn the dream into deeds.

It was so with Columbus. Five hundred years were to pass after the expedition of the Northmen to Greenland and to Nova Scotia before Columbus was to set out from

Spain on his memorable voyage. But during fully half of that long period the way was slowly but surely preparing for him.

The sequence of events during this period is noteworthy. In the middle of the thirteenth century two venturesome Franciscan friars, returning from a journey to the Far East, brought to Europe the first news that an open ocean lay to the east of Cathay, as China was called. Toward the end of the same century Marco Polo and his brother returned to Venice after an absence of twenty-four years, with marvellous stories of the wealth and splendor of the cities of Cathay, India, Cipango, as Japan was called in those days, and of the spice-growing islands off their coasts.

This wonderful news inflamed the imagination and aroused the cupidity of all Europe. The brisk and highly profitable overland trade which the merchants of Venice, Genoa and other cities thereupon established with India and China, and which was carried on for years, was rudely interrupted, however, when, in 1453, Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, who thereafter barred the way to Asia.

It became necessary, therefore, to find a new route, and the necessity produced the man—Prince Henry of Portugal, a famous patron of learning in his day, who, in the hope of solving this problem, gathered around him and trained a school of navigators. One of their number was Christopher Columbus, the Genoese. He sailed in these Portuguese ships down the coast of Africa nearly to the equator, and earlier he had voyaged, perhaps in a trading-vessel from Bristol, England, to Iceland and beyond—observing, studying, dreaming.

When the Portuguese navigators under Prince Henry found that the coast of Africa, after they passed the Gulf of Guinea, trended again to the south, they began to fear that no passage could be found around the continent to the spice islands of the Indies. It was this situation which led Columbus to turn his eyes to the west in search of a way to the rich but inaccessible East. Believing the equatorial circumference of the earth to be considerably less than it really was, and assuming, from the chart or world-map which Toscanelli, the Venetian astronomer and geographer, had sent to him and from other calculations, that the eastern coast of Asia extended nearly to what was later found to be the continent of North America, Columbus figured the distance from the Canaries to Cipango (Japan) to be not much more than two thousand five hundred miles. It was a fortunate error in calculation. For if he had known that the actual distance was nearly twelve thousand miles, he never, in his ignorance of the existence of the American hemisphere, would have had the courage to undertake the journey. Thus to Columbus's imagination Cipango—an island, Toscanelli assured him, which "abounds in gold, pearls and precious stones," and where "they cover the temples and palaces with solid gold"—lay across what was in reality the western part of the Gulf of Mexico.

The time, moreover, was ripe for Columbus's great achievement. For in 1492 Spain had superseded Portugal in maritime as in other affairs, and, after a struggle which had continued for eight hundred years, had finally expelled from her soil the last of the Moorish invaders. She was thus free to devote her surplus energy to explo-

ration, conquest and colonization. For the next eighty years she was the leader in this great work, leaving the indelible impress of her language and her civilization on the New World.

Between 1492 and 1503 Columbus, the pioneer in her behalf, made four voyages to America. He died, however, in May, 1506, without realizing that when, on an October evening, at the end of his first voyage with the *Niña*, the *Pinta* and the *Santa Maria*, he sighted a little island in what are now the Bahamas, he had discovered a new hemisphere. To the end he believed that the islands which he had explored and the coasts which he had skirted were parts of or were off the shores of China; and, believing that he had found the Indies, he called the natives Indians—a name ever afterward given to the aborigines of North and South America. At first he thought that Cuba, and later Hayti, was the famed Cipango of Marco Polo, and on his last voyage he searched the coast of the main-land in vain for a waterway that might lead him to the rich but elusive Indies, all the time inquiring for and hoping to find the gold and precious stones and valuable spices which Marco Polo, Toscanelli and his own lively imagination had told him he should find at the end of his voyage. The direct inspiration for his last voyage was the news of the success of the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, in reaching the Indies by the route around Africa, whence he returned in 1499 laden with spices and other valuable commodities. But, baffled and disappointed, Columbus sailed back to Spain, broken in health, fortune and spirit.

The report of the discovery by Columbus of what was

Pinta. *Santa Maria.* *Niña.*

THE FLEET OF COLUMBUS.

From a photograph of the duplicates of the *Santa Maria, Pinta* and *Niña* which Spain sent to the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.

supposed to be the indescribably rich island kingdom of Cipango was nowhere received with greater interest than in Bristol, in those days the principal seaport of England. The voyages of the Cabots, John and Sebastian, father and son, from Bristol were the direct outcome of this interest. John Cabot, like Columbus a Genoese by birth, had mastered the art of navigation in Venice, and in 1490 had been induced by professional reasons to make his home in this great English maritime centre.

The authentic records of the results of the voyages of the Cabots in 1497 and 1498 are meagre and inconclusive—not inconclusive as to the fact that one or both of them reached America, but as to the exact points which they touched and the extent of their explorations. The latest historical scholarship favors Cape Breton Island as the landfall of John Cabot's voyage in 1497, while Labrador and Newfoundland each has its advocates. Cabot thought that the land he had found was on the coast of China. He brought back, however, no gold or silver, no precious stones, no rich stuffs, no fragrant spices, and the enthusiasm of the Bristol merchants, as likewise the interest of King Henry VII, in the enterprise languished and died.

The Cabot voyages were not followed up; they did not promise commercially profitable results. Eighty years later, however, when comparative quiet had followed the turmoil of the Reformation and when the power of Spain was on the decline, the bold spirits of Queen Elizabeth's court began to look abroad for conquest and adventure. It was then very convenient to cite the discoveries of the Cabots as proof of England's right to a large share of the choicest portion of the New World.

The name America appeared in print first in a geographical work entitled *Cosmographie Introductio*, by two professors, named Waldseemüller and Ringmann, of the college at Saint-Dié, France, which was published in 1507, the year after the death of Columbus. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine navigator, had made a voyage in 1497, in the service of Portugal, to the coast of South America "beyond the equator." Two years later he led another expedition to Brazil, Venezuela and other points. The suggestion was therefore made in this treatise that this part of the earth be called America.

Vespucci himself had no hand in this affair—probably no knowledge of it. Neither he nor Columbus nor any of their contemporaries imagined for a moment that a new continent had been discovered. Nothing could exceed the density of the geographical darkness in which these early navigators were groping or the difficulties in the way of the scientific men who were trying to form intelligible conclusions from the masses of more or less contradictory and inaccurate information which they were bringing back to Europe from their voyages. And when from time to time a ray of light did emerge from this darkness, it lost nearly all of its value in the great shadow of China and the Indies which for years hung over and clouded the minds of sailor and scientist alike. So slowly did geographical truth come to light in those days that it was not until a generation later that the first map appeared indicating anything like the true outlines of the two continents as a distinct and separate hemisphere. This was Mercator's map of 1541.

II

EXPLORERS AND CONQUERORS

The exploration and conquest of the New World which Columbus had discovered took place in the sixteenth century. In this work Spain, then at the height of her power, was the leader. During the seventy years following the death of Columbus in 1506, in the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V and Philip II, great fleets of vessels bearing soldiers, priests, colonists and adventurers by the thousands left the ports of Spain for the Spanish main and returned bearing rich freights of gold, silver and other treasure which Mexico, Central America and Peru had been forced to yield to the conquering invader.

Having at the outset secured a firm foothold at various points in the West Indies and having got some knowledge of the coast from Venezuela to Mexico, the Spaniards began to extend their sway to the main-land. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the leader of one of the smaller of these colonizing expeditions, was the first European to see the Pacific Ocean. In 1513, from a mountain peak in Darien, he gazed upon the waste of waters to the west, without realizing in the least, one may believe, the significance of what he saw. Seven years were to pass before a Portuguese navigator of scientific equipment and force of character, Ferdinand Magellan, in the service of Spain, was to find,

through the straits which still bear his name, a waterway into the Pacific. It was this voyage of Magellan's, continued across the Pacific and around the world and completed in 1522, which gave European scientists their first glimpse of the true relation of the newly discovered lands to Asia. And yet, as has been noted, a score of years were to pass after this epoch-making voyage before the first map, Mercator's, was to be published defining with even an approximation to its true outlines the hemisphere of North and South America. As late as 1536, moreover, Francis I of France thought that the new country around the mouth of the St. Lawrence, which Jacques Cartier had explored, was the northeastern end of China. And although Sir Francis Drake, following Magellan, sailed around the world in 1570–1580, tarrying a month on the coast of California, many, many years were to pass before anything like an adequate notion was to prevail as to the extent of the continent of North America.

To return, however, to our story, the conquest of Mexico and Peru by Hernando Cortes and Francisco Pizarro, respectively, between 1518 and 1533, not only brought great honor to the Spanish name, but enriched enormously the royal treasury, and was a tremendous stimulus therefore to further exploration. The full records which have come down to us of three of these expeditions, those of Cabeza de Vaca, Hernando de Soto and Francisco Vazquez Coronado, are among the most valuable of the original narratives of early American history. They form the chief sources of our information as to the manners and customs of the Indian tribes between the Carolinas and the Gulf of California as they existed in the early part of the six-

teenth century. The narrative of the wanderings during six years among the Indians of Texas and northern Mexico of Cabeza de Vaca is a unique chapter in the book of early American adventure.

The motive of De Soto's expedition inland and across the southern states to Arkansas and the Indian Territory was the same as that of Coronado's from a point on the Pacific north and across to the heart of the continent at Kansas and Nebraska—the hope of finding the rich cities which rumor through Cabeza de Vaca and other explorers had placed in the vast and unknown "North." The expectation of the Spaniards was that they might find another race like the semi-civilized Aztecs and another city as full of wealth as was Montezuma's capital. They both failed in their quests. De Soto, however, won everlasting fame by discovering and crossing the Mississippi, and Coronado, if he did not find the gold and other treasure of which he went in search, brought back a store of curious information about the pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico and their inhabitants, the wonders of the cañon of the Colorado and the huge herds of bison which covered the Great Plains.

French exploration during the sixteenth century was intermittent, half-hearted, futile. Francis I had only a languid interest in over-sea matters; affairs at home, especially those growing out of the aggressive hostility of the Emperor Charles V, engrossed his attention. Under his auspices, however, a Florentine navigator, Giovanni da Verrazzano, sailed in a single caravel, in 1524, from the Carolinas to Newfoundland, skirting the shores of New Jersey, Long Island and New England, anticipating by a year the voy-

A SPANISH GALLEON OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
Redrawn from an old print.

age which Estevan Gomez made in the service of the Spanish king along the coast from Labrador to Florida in the search for a passage to the Indies.

The three voyages to the St. Lawrence which Jacques Cartier made between 1534 and 1541 were of the highest importance, although they resulted in no permanent settlement. For they established the French claim to this new country, which the Indians called Canada, and opened the way for Champlain sixty-three years later. Although, as has already been noted, Francis I was under the impression that the land which Cartier had discovered formed the northeastern part of China, the returning ships brought back none of the riches for which Cathay was famous, and the interest of the French king in the enterprise waned accordingly. Thenceforward the French called this land New France, as the Spaniards called Mexico New Spain.

By 1570 the decline in the activity and energy of Spanish exploration and conquest became marked. Philip II, alarmed at the progress which the Protestant Reformation was making, set out to crush this new heresy by fire and sword, as his ancestors had destroyed Mohammedanism in Spain. The bloody ferocity and inhuman cruelty which were to be Spain's chief instruments in this holy warfare were foreshadowed by the massacre, in 1565, of the French Huguenots, a motley band of soldiers of fortune and adventurers who, under the leadership of Jean Ribaut and René de Laudonnière, had secured a precarious footing on the east coast of Florida. Pedro Menendez de Avilés descended upon them and, in the joint service of God and of Philip II, killed them like sheep by the hundreds, as

AN ENGLISH SHIP OF ELIZABETH'S TIME.

(Visscher's Series of about 1588). From *Drake and the Tudor Navy*.

heretics and as invaders of soil that belonged to Spain. The incident was significant of the spirit of religious bigotry with which the Spaniards of the age of Charles V and of Philip II carried on their work of exploration in the New World, when the murder of a heretic, as every Protestant was regarded, was just as much of a solemn duty laid upon them by the church and the state as was the conversion of a savage to the true faith. Save for this holy butchery Menendez is remembered only as the founder in the same year, 1565, of St. Augustine, which thus became the oldest town in the United States and the only town that was permanently colonized in the sixteenth century.

Such was the power, on sea and land, of Spain in the first half of this century that Henry VIII of England, preoccupied with the Reformation, was content to allow Charles V and Philip II to have free rein in the New World and in the waters thereof. Under Elizabeth, however, a bolder, less complaisant spirit prevailed, partly due, no doubt, to the fact that Spain was engaged in subduing the revolt in the Netherlands. Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake challenged the supremacy of the Spaniard on the sea, bringing home to England tales of many a gallant fight and of much rich plunder from Spanish ships and Spanish colonies. Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* gives in romance form a vivid picture of these stirring times. Hawkins, half pirate and half slave-trader, had brought to his fellow-countrymen in 1565 their first direct knowledge of Florida, while Drake's voyage around the world, in 1577–1580, had supplied a theme for endless conjecture and eager anticipation to every seaport in England. It was on this memorable voyage that Drake sailed up the coast of California

THE

THIRD AND LAST VOLVME OF THE VOYAGES, NAVIGATIONS, TRAFFIQUES, and Discoueries of the *English Nation*, and in some few places, where they haue not been, of strangers, performed within and before the time of these hundred yeeres, to all parts of the *Newfound* world of *America*, or the *West Indies*, from 73. degrees of Northerly to 57. of Southerly latitude:

As namely to *Engronland*, *Meta Incognita*, *Estotiland*, *Tierra de Labrador*, *Newfoundland*, vp *The grand bay*, the gulfe of *S. Laurence*, and the Riuer of *Canada* to *Hochelaga* and *Saguenay*, along the coast of *Arambec*, to the shores and maines of *Virginia* and *Florida*, and on the West or backside of them both, to the rich and pleasant countries of *Nueua Biscaya*, *Cibola*, *Tignex*, *Cicuic*, *Quiuira*, to the 15. prouinces of the kingdome of *New Mexico*, to the bottome of the gulfe of *California*, and vp the Riuer of *Buena Guia*:

And likewise to all the yles both small and great lying before the cape of *Florida*, *The bay* of *Mexico*, and *Tierra firma*, to the coasts and Inlands of *Neuue Spaine*, *Tierra firma*, and *Guiana*, vp the mighty Riuers of *Orenoque*, *Desseybe*, and *Marawon*, to euery part of the coast of *Brasil*, to the Riuer of *Plate*, through the Streights of *Magellan* forward and backward, and to the South of the said Streights as farre as 57. degrees:

And from thence on the backside of *America*, along the coastes, harbours, and capes of *Chili*, *Peru*, *Nicaragua*, *Nueua Espanna*, *Nueua Galicia*, *Culiacan*, *California*, *Nona Albion*, and more Northerly as farre as 43. degrees:

Together with the two renowmed, and prosperous voyages of Sir *Francis Drake* and M. *Thomas Candish* round about the circumference of the whole earth, and diuers other voyages intended and set forth for that course.

Collected by RICHARD HAKLVYT *Preacher, and sometimes* student of Christ-Church in Oxford.

¶ Imprinted at London by *George Bishop*, *Ralfe Newberie*, and ROBERT BARKER.

ANNO DOM. 1600.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE AMERICAN VOLUME OF HAKLUYT'S "VOYAGES," ENLARGED EDITION OF 1598–1600.
From a copy of the original edition in the New York Public Library.

and spent a month in refitting his ship and in trading with the Indians, lying at anchor meanwhile in a harbor which Pacific coast scholars are agreed was what is now known as Drake's Bay, about thirty miles north of San Francisco.

More than half of Elizabeth's reign had passed before she and her people were fully aroused to the over-sea opportunities for colonization and commercial expansion which lay between the Spanish possessions on the south and the French on the north. The man who opened the eyes of all England to the possibilities which beckoned to them from the great and unknown West was Richard Hakluyt, an Oxford scholar whose imagination had been quickened by the stories of returned sailors and whose mind had been trained by his studies in the subject of map, chart and globe-making. Hakluyt set to work with diligence and intelligence to bring to the knowledge of his fellow-countrymen the narratives of the navigators and explorers of all nations. He published his first collection of these narratives, gathered from widely different sources, some even by word of mouth, and translated when necessary into English, in 1582. The book was called *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovrie of America*. The first edition of his great work, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, appeared in 1589.

No publication could have been more timely. For in the preceding year the mighty fleet of Spanish warships called the Armada had been destroyed by English shot and by storms which strewed the coasts of Scotland and Ireland with wreckage. And by the destruction of the Spanish Armada the Protestant religion was saved to England and

every quarter of the sea was opened to English ships without the fear of Spanish aggression. For nearly a hundred years Spain had been the arrogant mistress of the seas. Now her rule had come to an end.

III

COLONISTS

The explorers and conquerors having shown the way in the sixteenth century, the colonists followed them in the seventeenth. The two main streams which flowed from England to the shores of the New World came from altogether different sources and were impelled by very different motive powers. The band of gentlemen adventurers and soldiers of fortune who settled on the Jamestown peninsula in 1607 were in search of gold or a way by water or overland to the South Sea, as the Spaniards called the Pacific. Although they named their settlement after the new Stuart king, the Jamestown colonists brought with them the traditions of Elizabeth's reign. They were still under the magic spell woven in their imaginations by the wealth which the Spaniards had found in Mexico and in Peru. But toil, privation, hunger and disease met them at every turn and they and those who followed them died by hundreds.

With the development of tobacco culture, which was begun by John Rolfe in 1612, and the establishment in 1619 of self-government through the first representative assembly in America, the fortunes of the Virginia colony brightened greatly. The character, moreover, of the colonists sent out from England was much better than in the early years. The dream of gold mines vanished. The practical problem of tobacco culture on a large scale took its place.

RUINS OF THE OLD CHURCH ON THE SITE OF JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA.

All that remains of the first English settlement.

Negro slave labor, introduced by a Dutch vessel in 1619, was welcomed as supplementing the convict labor largely used up to that time in the tobacco fields. These incidents in the early industrial life of the Jamestown colony had a far-reaching and determining influence upon the entire civilization of Virginia and upon that of Maryland as well, where the social and industrial conditions were largely the same.

The little colony of Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth in 1620, and the Puritans who, eight years later, began the great migration to Massachusetts Bay, were in search not of gold or silver, or of a way to the Indies, but of new lands and fresh opportunities, with religious freedom. They were home-seekers, not treasure-hunters, and they brought with them their wives and children, their household goods and the few servants whom they possessed. The Pilgrims or Separatists, as they were called, were Puritans who a dozen years earlier had fled from England and had gone to Holland in order to escape persecution for their religious beliefs. Finding it difficult to support themselves in a foreign country and wishing to free themselves from the Dutch influence, they determined to find new homes in Virginia. The first company, one hundred and two in all, sailed in the *Mayflower*. Of this number, however, only thirty-five have thus far been identified as having come from the Leyden company. They were serious-minded, self-reliant, God-fearing men and women, whose long exile had weaned them from the mother-land, for which, however, they still retained a deep affection. To their number were added others who joined the vessel at Southampton or at Plymouth, her port of departure. Chance carried the *May-*

THE "MAYFLOWER."

From the model in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

flower to the coast of Massachusetts, instead of to Virginia, where, after losing many of their number and suffering great hardships, those surviving succeeded finally in founding the Plymouth colony under Governor Bradford.

The Puritans, who to the number of fully twenty thousand poured into Boston and the other towns of the Massachusetts Bay colony between 1628 and 1640, are not to be confused with the Pilgrims who came from Holland with somewhat different motives. At this period fully ninety per cent of the people of England were Puritans. They constituted, speaking broadly, the great middle class of farmers, artisans, tradesmen and professional men, including many clergymen. They remained in the Church of England, trying to resist its drift under the Stuart kings toward what they regarded as Popish practices, until the persecutions of Archbishop Laud became unendurable, when they fled by the thousands across the sea to make homes for themselves where they could have peace and religious freedom.

With the rise in power of Parliament under the leadership of Hampden and Pym, the flow of Puritan immigration to the New World slackened, and finally when Charles I was beheaded and the Commonwealth was established it ceased. The very conditions, however, which brought the Puritan emigration from England to an end started another and even a larger stream, of an entirely different character, flowing to Virginia. This was made up of thousands of men of the best blood in royalist circles in England who sought in the New World at once rest after the strife of civil war and escape from the rule of the hated Commonwealth.

This Cavalier class, as it was called, became the aristocracy of the colony, and transferred to the plantations of the tide-water counties of Virginia not a few of the manners, customs and tastes that had given grace and distinction to the country life of the landed gentry under the first two Stuarts. The families of Washington, Lee, Randolph, Pendleton, Marshall, Madison, Monroe and other men who became equally well known belonged to this class, and came to Virginia at this period. The migration was as distinctive as that of the Puritans to Massachusetts Bay, and largely accounts for the increase in the white population of Virginia from fifteen thousand in 1649 to thirty-eight thousand in 1670.

Meanwhile other portions of the seaboard were being rapidly settled. Henry Hudson, in the interest of the Dutch East India Company, sailed up the river which now bears his name as early as 1609 in the *Half Moon*, but it was not until fourteen years later that the commercial enterprise of the Dutch gave them a firm foothold in New Amsterdam. They possessed more of a genius for trade than for government. While, therefore, the towns and forts which they built became active centres in the trade in furs with the Indians, political affairs in New Amsterdam became more and more hopelessly involved, as humorously illustrated in Washington Irving's burlesque, the *Knickerbocker History of New York*. The distinctive feature of the Dutch occupation of New Netherland was the feudal-like system of land-tenure under the "patroons," as the lords of the great estates along the Hudson and elsewhere were called. The people of New Amsterdam, however, did not prosper under commercial rule. When the English took

possession of the town in 1664 the population, after thirty years of Dutch occupation, was only fifteen hundred. The population of all New Netherland was not more than seven thousand, while by that time New England contained fully one hundred thousand people.

Maryland was distinguished from her neighbors among the early colonies by the proprietary government under which the successive Lords Baltimore ruled the colony for sixty years, from 1632 until 1692; not, however, without constant effort and repeated interruptions due to disputes between the assembly and the proprietor. The proprietors, although of the Roman Catholic faith, welcomed the Puritans who were driven out of Virginia and other nonconformists; and even the Quakers were allowed to make a settlement. The colony, in fact, became an asylum for the persecuted of various sects. Religious liberty, however, brought with it religious strife. For years bitter conflicts were waged between the different sects, first one and then the other getting the upper hand. There were alternate periods, therefore, of toleration and persecution, which left the colony in a state of uncertainty and of unrest.

The Pennsylvania colony, like that of Maryland, began its career under a proprietary government. In 1682 William Penn and his Quaker colonists founded Philadelphia, a spirit of broad religious toleration prevailing. The growth of the colony was rapid, although—perhaps because—the mixture of races in it was marked, and also because it was settled late. In three years the colony numbered seven thousand inhabitants. Nearly one-half of these people were of other than English birth or English stock—Dutch, Scotch-Irish, French, Finnish and Swedish. Owing to the

wise and beneficent rule of the proprietor no colony outside of New England showed such vitality and capacity for growth. Relations with the Indians were peaceful. Farms became productive, and commerce, especially with the West Indies, increased rapidly.

The Carolinas went through a long period of turbulence and disorder, also under a proprietary form of government, alternately inefficient and rapacious, before they emerged into peace and quiet. The population of the Albemarle and Clarendon settlements in the north and south respectively was mixed and discord prevailed for years.

Any consideration of religious matters in the colonies must take into account the different periods in which the colonies were settled and the different elements of which the populations were composed. Thus the Virginia colony had existed for twenty-one years and numbered nearly five thousand persons when, in 1628, John Endicott brought to Salem the first shipload of Puritans. The persecution of the Puritans in England did not become acute until the reign of Charles I. Meanwhile the Virginia colonists had consistently maintained their allegiance to the Church of England, and the English Puritans who joined them in the following years were content to accept this as the established form of faith in the colony.

The antecedents of the New England Puritans and their motives in coming to Massachusetts Bay were such as to make it natural, perhaps inevitable, that the form of local government which they adopted should in effect centre in the church. The ministers, many of them graduates, as was John Harvard, of that nursery of Puritan clergymen, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, were the leading

men, with the magistrates, in every community. Congregationalism, the essence of which is the independent, self-governing character of each church organization, in fellowship with other bodies of the same denomination, became the State Church, so to speak, and only church members were allowed to vote in civil affairs or to hold office. As the cultivation of the land yielded only meagre returns and as the Indians presented a constant threat of danger, the people gathered in towns. And the centre, social and political as well as religious, of each town was the church.

The age, moreover, which produced Milton and Bunyan and Cromwell in England was one of deep and intense religious feeling, in which breadth of view and a spirit of charity found little chance for play. Whatever inconsistency one may find between the ideal of religious liberty and the intolerant temper of the time, the fact remains that in the two colonies, Massachusetts and Virginia, where this temper found the most violent expression, the foundations of great commonwealths were laid much more quickly and much more securely than in the colonies where greater freedom in religious matters prevailed. Massachusetts drove Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson across her borders, and even hanged several Quakers because of the dissension, turmoil and even danger to the state which the presence of these preachers of strange and unwelcome doctrines involved. It was with the same motive that Virginia expelled the Congregational ministers who came there from Boston, drove the non-conformist Puritans by the hundreds into Maryland and fined ship-masters who brought Quakers into the colony. After such a period of

religious strife and turbulence as they had gone through in England, the people of both Massachusetts and Virginia desired nothing so much as peace. To those who by the preaching of strange doctrines became fomenters of discord they showed the door.

The Hartford colony where the middle way was followed was no exception to this rule. The settlers were families from Cambridge, Dorchester and other near-by towns in the Massachusetts Bay colony who held rather more liberal views in religion and politics than their neighbors did, and who left their homes in 1636 in order to find a place in which they would be free to carry these views into effect. The New Haven colony, however, which was settled two years later, followed the stricter Massachusetts rule in making church membership a prerequisite to the right to vote. Both communities flourished for years in peace as independent commonwealths, and were free from much of the contention and strife which vexed their neighbors.

The conditions, political, religious and commercial, were decidedly different when, toward the end of the century, in 1683, William Penn founded Philadelphia with his large colony of Quakers. His Quaker followers themselves differed greatly from the disorderly and violent fanatics whom the Massachusetts magistrates had hanged a quarter of a century earlier. With the death, moreover, of Archbishop Laud and the waning of the Stuart power, the danger of the interference of the home government in religious affairs, which was ever present to the Puritans of Winthrop's day, had disappeared. The executive ability, the untiring industry and the wise and benevolent spirit of their great leader were the chief elements, however, which,

in the early years of the colony, served to fuse the widely divergent races and creeds of the Pennsylvania emigrants into a comparatively peaceful community, to which agriculture, trade and commerce brought prosperity and in which religious doctrine was a matter of secondary importance.

The two men who by dealing justly and keeping faith with the Indians exerted the greatest influence among them were Roger Williams and William Penn. More often, however, the relations of the settlers on the frontier with the Indians were marked by double dealing and bad faith, and the results were generally bloody massacres and prolonged guerilla warfare. More than three hundred persons on the Virginia plantations were murdered in an Indian uprising in 1622, giving the colony a severe check in its development. Half a century later Bacon's rebellion grew out of the inability of the Virginia colonists to secure from the royal governor, Sir William Berkeley, adequate protection against the Indians whom ill-treatment had aroused to retaliation. The colonists had other grievances also to which Berkeley's aristocratic sympathies and his narrowness and obstinacy, united to a despotic temper, made him equally deaf. The death of Nathaniel Bacon brought the revolt to an end and gave the vindictive old governor an opportunity to revenge himself by the execution of no fewer than twenty-three of the leading spirits of the rebellion.

The alliance which first the Dutch of New Netherland and later the English of New York, during the governorship of Sir Edmund Andros, made with the Five Nations, was an event of the highest importance. This powerful Indian confederation, made up of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Oneidas and Cayugas, all of Iroquois stock, occu-

pied a strategic position of great strength in central New York between the Hudson and the Genesee rivers. Having been liberally supplied with guns in exchange for furs by the Dutch traders, these tribes of Indians were a compact and formidable power, and proved to be a mighty bulwark against the incursions of the French and their Algonquin allies from the north. Had it not been for the efficient help which they gave the English colonies in the wars that followed, the French might easily have swarmed down the valley of the Hudson, with what ultimate result to the colonies thus split in twain it is impossible to say.

The value of education was early recognized in New England. Provision was made for public schools in all the towns of Massachusetts, and in 1636 the colonial legislature emphasized its interest in the higher education of its citizens by founding a college in New Town, as Cambridge was then called. Two years later the name Harvard was given to the institution in memory of the young clergyman, John Harvard, who, dying, left his library and about four hundred pounds sterling to the college.

In Virginia, where the people were scattered on the great plantations along the rivers and where only a few feeble towns existed, a public-school system was impossible. In those early years each planter gave his children such instruction as he could. Governor Berkeley, writing in 1670, thanked God that there were no free schools or printing-presses in the colony, and thirteen years later the new governor, Lord Howard of Effingham, was directed to allow no printing-press in Virginia. Education and printing-presses were looked upon in the mother country in those days as breeders of sects, heresies and treason.

During the first twenty-five years of the Dutch occupation of New Netherland there were only a few private schools in the chief towns, and these were not always conducted by men who were either competent or reputable. About the middle of the century, however, under Governor Peter Stuyvesant, a public school was established in New Amsterdam, and not long after a Latin school was founded also.

IV

NEW FRANCE IN AMERICA

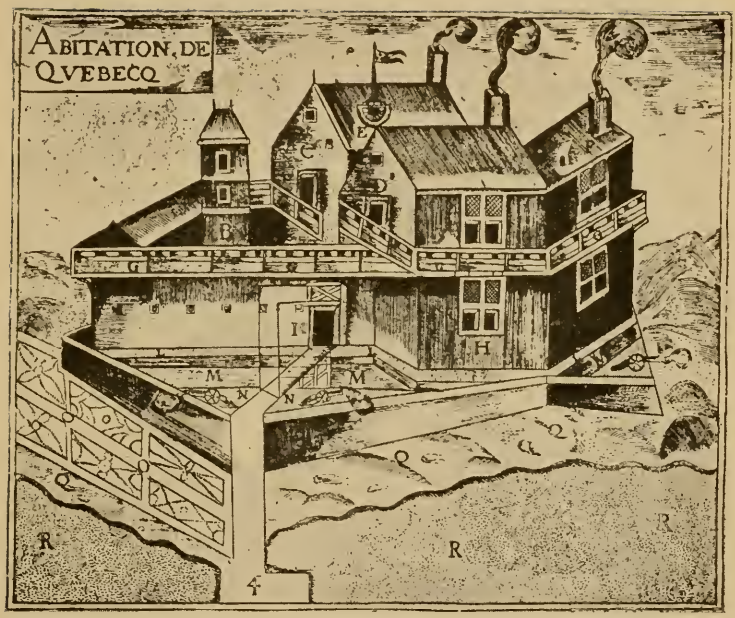
While the English were planting colonies along the coast of America, the French were establishing settlements, forts and trading-posts in the valley of the St. Lawrence and on the shores of the Great Lakes, exploring the very heart of the continent and drifting down the Mississippi to its mouth. A triple motive was the inspiration for this undertaking—religious zeal for the conversion of the Indians to the Roman Catholic faith, a desire to monopolize the rich fur trade of the Great Lakes, and the necessity of checking or neutralizing, in the interest of France, the rapid growth of the English power along the seaboard.

The leader in this enterprise was Samuel de Champlain, a heroic and romantic figure in early American history and a man of remarkable character. With the temper of a Crusader of the Middle Ages, he looked upon France as the champion of Christianity in the New World, and this thought formed the very centre of the elaborate political scheme which he developed for the enlargement of French influence and authority. It was the policy of Champlain and his followers to win first the confidence and then the friendship of the Algonquin tribes of Indians along the St. Lawrence and around the Great Lakes, to share in their councils, to take part in their wars with their savage rivals —to exercise, in a word, a general supervision over all their affairs, spiritual and temporal. The triple alliance of sol-

dier, priest and trader was used effectively in the accomplishment of this work. With French soldiers, in Parkman's trenchant phrase, to fight their battles, French priests to baptize them and French traders to supply their increasing wants, the dependence of the Indians upon their new allies would be complete.

Champlain brought versatility as well as loftiness of purpose to this task. Combining energy with self-control, initiative with tact and address, he was at once a trained soldier, a skilled sailor, a keen observer of scientific temperament and an accurate and vivacious writer. One of his voyages carried him as early as 1605, before even Jamestown was settled, along the deeply indented coast of Maine and as far south as Cape Cod; and so painstaking and accurate were his descriptions of the peculiarities of the shore line that his route can be closely followed at the present day.

The founding of Quebec by Champlain in 1609, when the English colonists at Jamestown were struggling against famine, disease and death, and eleven years before the Pilgrims settled at Plymouth, gave the French a base of operations for their inland explorations. In the same year, on the shores of the lake that bears his name, the armor and arquebuses of Champlain and his few French followers were much more effective than the arrows of their Algonquin allies in bringing about the defeat of a band of Mohawks. A petty affair in itself, this first clash on the wooded shores of Lake Champlain between the French and the Algonquins on the one hand and a band of warriors of the principal tribes of the great confederation of the Five Nations on the other, had far-reaching consequences. For



CHAMPLAIN'S PICTURE OF QUEBEC IN 1609.

Showing the quarters of himself and his men on the brink of the Saint Lawrence.
From Champlain's *Voyages* (1613).

the result was to intensify the hatred of the Five Nations for the French and their Algonquin allies and so to open the way for the alliance between them and the Dutch fur-traders of the Hudson and Mohawk valleys.

Champlain pushed his way far into the interior. In 1615 he reached that great arm of Lake Huron, Georgian Bay, having travelled thither by way of the Ottawa River and Lake Nipissing, and finding in the village of Huron Indians, on its shores, a Récollet priest.

The death of Champlain in 1635, at Quebec, after he had devoted twenty-seven of the best years of his life to the interests of the colony, caused no cessation in the work of exploring and occupying new fields. In 1639 Jean Nicollet succeeded in reaching the Wisconsin River, and in the following years the Jesuits founded settlements at Sault Sainte Marie and at other points in the wilderness on and near Lake Superior.

It was not, however, until 1669 that a man of indomitable will and of exhaustless energy, Robert de la Salle, took up in earnest the work which Champlain had laid down. Rumors that there was a great river far to the westward had reached the French through the Indians and missionaries, and La Salle's curiosity was aroused to learn if this waterway led to China or to the "Vermilion Sea," as the Gulf of California was called in those days. His first expedition to solve this problem carried him to the Ohio River only. Before he could make another start the priest Marquette and the fur-trader Joliet had reached this mysterious river, the Mississippi, and had floated south on its broad bosom as far as the mouth of the Arkansas.

DRAWING OF NIAGARA FALLS BY HENNEPIN, AN ASSOCIATE OF LA SALLE.
Published in 1697 in the *Nouvelle Découverte*, Utrecht.

La Salle thereupon determined to follow the Mississippi to its mouth and thereby to establish the claim of Louis XIV to the extensive territory drained by this great stream and its tributaries, thus arresting the advance of the Spaniards from the south and of the English from the east. Accordingly in 1679, with the help of Count Frontenac and after many delays caused by the jealousy and envy of both priest and trader, he set sail on the Niagara River. The journeys which he made back and forth between Lake Michigan and the French settlements, through a wilderness filled with wellnigh insurmountable obstacles, and the disappointments which he met but which seemed only to give a keener edge to his resolution, show the heroic stuff of which the man was made.

Finally, in the spring of 1682, after herculean efforts extending over three years, he reached the Mississippi by way of the Chicago and Illinois rivers, and followed its course to its mouth, claiming all of the land drained by this mighty stream and naming it after his king Louisiana. Returning by way of the Mississippi to Canada and thence to France he laid this vast territory at the feet of his sovereign. If his scheme for colonizing Louisiana and for establishing a chain of French forts and trading-posts from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes had not miscarried, the expansion of the English colonies to the westward might have been considerably retarded.

Toward the end of Champlain's governorship, when the affairs of New France were at a low ebb, the French narrowly missed losing control of their new possessions for all time. From 1629 until 1632 Quebec was in the hands of the English, a squadron under the command of

FRANQUELIN'S GREAT MAP OF 1684.

Showing the country which La Salle explored from New France to the Gulf of Mexico.

David Kirk and his two brothers having captured the town, the French garrison being weak in numbers and in a half-starved condition. But Charles I, in return for a large sum of money of which he was in need and which he could not extort from his Puritan Parliament, restored the town to the French; and through this act of the Stuart king the English colonies in America were subjected later to the depredations of a border warfare with the French and Indians which lasted fully three-quarters of a century.

This period was from the English revolution, in 1688, which placed William, Prince of Orange, and Mary on the throne, until the peace of Paris at the end of the Seven Years' War, in 1763. During this period England, with the aid of her continental allies, Dutch and Germanic, was engaged in the stupendous task of thwarting the ambition and breaking the power of the French under Louis XIV and Louis XV. The fear, while the Stuarts reigned, lest England might become a Roman Catholic dependency of France had been ever present in the Protestant mind. With the fresh courage, however, growing out of the presence on the throne of a Protestant king, England under William became aggressive. The four wars that she waged against France in the next three-quarters of a century were virtually one conflict in their general aim, the intervals of peace merely enabling the combatants to gather new strength and fresh supplies for a continuation of the struggle.

In the American colonies the border warfare during this period between the English and the French, with such Indian allies as either side could control, was almost continuous, not being governed by the official limits of the

corresponding European conflicts. The New York border suffered the most in the first war, King William's. Massachusetts was occupied in defending her own outlying settlements, and the other less-endangered colonies to the south were more or less deaf to the appeals of New York for assistance. During the entire war, which lasted from 1688 until the peace of Ryswick in 1697, Virginia, Maryland, Connecticut and East Jersey contributed together only a little over three thousand pounds sterling to the common defense fund.

The Five Nations bore the brunt of the fighting and suffered severely, losing about twelve hundred warriors, nearly half the number of their fighting men. By their fierceness and cunning in that war, however, they won the respect as well as the fear of the French. Thenceforth it was a consistent and well-maintained feature of the policy of the governor of New France, Count Frontenac, and his successors to make friends with the Five Nations and to keep them as far as possible in a state of neutrality. It became an equally important part of the French policy, moreover, to keep the Abenakis and other New England and adjacent tribes in constant warfare with the whites, lest, by the alluring temptations which the New England traders were in a position to hold out to them, they might be won over to neutrality, or possibly even to an alliance.

While, therefore, during the early years of the eighteenth century, in Queen Anne's War, the New York border was comparatively quiet, the remote settlements of Massachusetts, including those in what are now Maine and New Hampshire, suffered terribly from marauding bands of Indians who were instigated to these attacks by the French.

The horrors of this savage warfare reached a climax at Deerfield, in the valley of the Connecticut, in 1704, with the killing of sixty persons and the carrying into a captivity almost worse than death itself of a hundred others. From time to time the New England governors took the aggressive, sending expedition after expedition at heavy cost to attack Montreal or Quebec, or one of the fortified harbors in Nova Scotia or in Cape Breton Island. For one reason or another, however, all of these expeditions proved abortive, save that commanded by Sir William Pepperell, who, in 1745, with the aid of an English fleet, captured the important port of Louisburg on the southeast coast of Cape Breton Island. But this was a hollow victory, the town and fortress being restored to the French by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle three years later.

The middle of the eighteenth century had been passed before the full significance of the line of forts which the French had built from Quebec to the Ohio River made itself felt in the mind of an English statesman who possessed at once sufficient imagination to realize the danger they presented and sufficient wisdom and authority to meet it effectively—William Pitt, the elder, afterward the Earl of Chatham. The French barred the way to the natural expansion westward of the English colonies. The defeat at Fort Necessity, near the Monongahela River, in July, 1754, of the Virginia troops under the young colonel of militia, George Washington, who in this affair comes upon the historical stage for the first time, made clear the determination of the French to claim as their own and to defend the valley of the Ohio and its tributaries as a part of the territory of New France. And the crushing defeat of

General Braddock a year later when, with a large force of British regulars and colonial militia, he attempted to reduce Fort Duquesne, at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, emphasized in a manner not to be disregarded the necessity of a larger and more comprehensive plan of attack upon the entire French line of fortifications, if the power of this formidable rival in America was to be broken once for all.

The Earl of Loudon and General Abercrombie, who succeeded Braddock in command of the regular and colonial forces, shared Braddock's inefficiency and were equally unsuccessful. It was not until, in 1757, Pitt became the real ruler of England that he was in a position to send soldiers of first-rate ability to America in order to carry out his far-reaching plan of operations against the French, who under the aggressive Montcalm had captured the British post of Oswego and Fort William Henry. These he found in Amherst, Wolfe, Howe and Forbes, soldiers of ability and of tenacity of purpose. With the ample resources supplied by Parliament and by the colonies themselves, these men were able in a few years, despite one or two severe reverses like the repulse of Abercrombie at Ticonderoga, to break the French line of communications in the West by the capture of Fort Niagara and Fort Duquesne, and then to complete the work for all time by the capture of Quebec and Montreal. When, in 1759, Quebec, after having been heroically defended by Montcalm, who lost his life on the Plains of Abraham, fell into the hands of the English forces under the immortal Wolfe, and, in the following year, Montreal was forced to surrender to Amherst, the end was reached of the dream of a great French empire in America.

Thenceforth the English colonies were freed from the overhanging threat of French aggression, with its inevitable accompaniment of Indian barbarity and cruelty. The conspiracy of Pontiac, in 1763, represented the last organized resistance, desperate but short-lived, of the Indians west of the Alleghanies against the permanent occupation of that region by the English settlers.

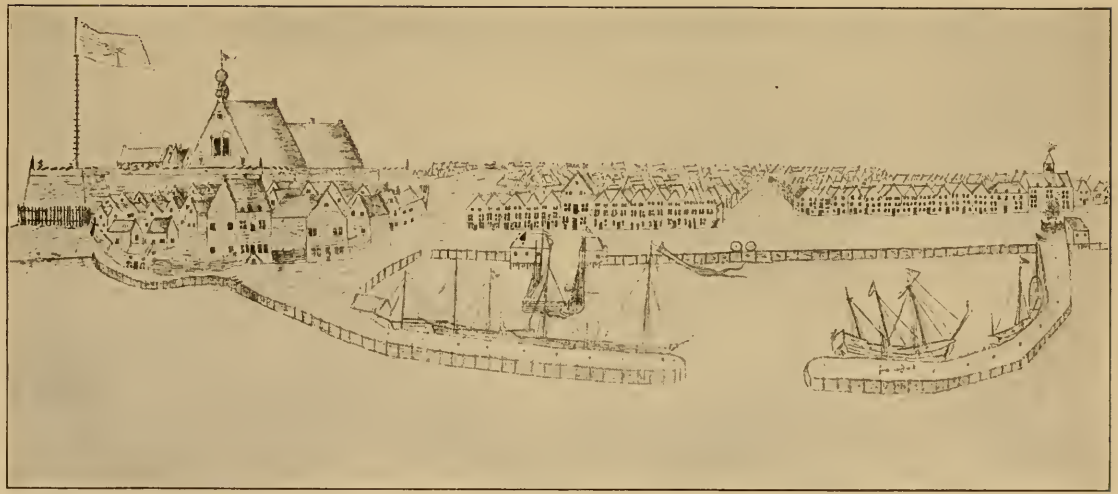
V

GROWTH OF THE COLONIES

Domestic affairs in the colonies had adjusted themselves meanwhile, after a period of more or less confusion, to the new conditions brought about by the revolution which, in 1688, had placed William, Prince of Orange, and Mary on the throne of England. In Massachusetts the episode of the Salem Village witchcraft delusion, local in its influence and of brief duration, occurred in 1692 while these changes were in progress. This lamentable affair, in the course of which no fewer than one hundred and twenty-six persons were imprisoned and nineteen hanged, was a curious expression of the belief in a personal influence for evil which is one of the most tenacious superstitions that barbarism has handed down to civilization. This superstition the Puritans brought with them from England. The English Parliament had passed a witch act early in the reign of James I, but most of the trials and executions which took place under this act occurred in the reign of Charles I, during the years when the great Puritan migration from England to Massachusetts Bay was in progress. The first execution for witchcraft in America was in 1648, under Governor Winthrop. The hysterical violence of the Salem Village manifestations grew out of the veritable panic of suspicion and fear into which the whole community was thrown by the accusations. As soon as a few of the cooler heads escaped from this influence and

applied the test of ordinary common-sense to the manifestations, the superstition received its death blow. Twenty years later, however, in England, and even thirty years later in Scotland, there were executions for witchcraft, so slowly did the ancient belief in a malignant personal influence give way to the modern conception of the operation of natural law.

The royal governors appointed by King William took up their tasks in a somewhat more conciliatory spirit than their predecessors under the arbitrary Stuarts had shown. The three centres of royal authority in the colonies were Massachusetts Bay, New York and Virginia, although for a period New York came under the control of the governor of Massachusetts. New Hampshire was made a separate colony for the purpose of weakening the influence of Massachusetts. Connecticut, in which the New Haven colony had been reluctantly merged, and Rhode Island were fortunate in being allowed to retain their old charters under which they were self-governing. They had some difficulties to settle over boundary questions, and occasionally there was friction with the royal governor of an adjacent province over the control of the militia. But they escaped the irritation and friction caused by the quarrels of the royal governors with the legislative bodies over fixed salaries, taxes, expenditures and supplies. By refusing to grant fixed yearly salaries the legislatures prevented the royal governors from acquiring the independence for which they were constantly plotting. For the colonists realized that they would be tied hand and foot if the royal governors, while remaining dependent on the king, should become independent of the colonial legislatures. They had



VIEW OF THE TOWN OF NEW YORK, FROM BROOKLYN HEIGHTS, IN 1679.

From the journal of Dankers and Sluyter, published by the Long Island Historical Society.

indeed learned well the lesson of the long struggle between Parliament and royalty, that only by maintaining firm control of the matter of taxes and expenditures could any check be kept upon the King's governors and their desire to enlarge their personal authority and the royal prerogative.

The navigation laws which the English authorities imposed from time to time on the colonies were another source of more or less annoyance. Their purpose was to secure for English merchants a monopoly in the handling of the various products of the colonies, despite the desire of the colonists to sell their tobacco, rice, fish, lumber and skins in the most profitable market. These laws failed of their purpose because in most instances they were evaded or ignored, and because for years no attempt was made to enforce them rigidly.

Bitter disputes occurred over these and kindred matters in Massachusetts. In New York, where the legislature was somewhat less tenacious of its rights and less stubborn in maintaining them, the quarrelling was less frequent as well as less violent. Virginia was comparatively free from vexation from this cause. Certain fixed revenues which the King enjoyed in Virginia were sufficient to meet the ordinary expenses of the colonial government. The royal governor was therefore not obliged to ask for grants except in extraordinary cases. Two instances in which friction arose were when Spotswood, soon after he became governor in 1710, quarrelled with the House of Burgesses because that body would not appropriate a sum of money sufficient to enable him to carry out his plan for a military organization, and when, forty years later, Dinwiddie

attempted to require a fee to be paid for the seal that was affixed to a grant of land.

The comparative quiet of the early years of Penn's proprietary government in Pennsylvania did not continue after the English revolution. Although Penn gave the colony a new charter under which many concessions were made, the people through the assembly were continually quarrelling with the proprietary governor over political and financial matters, Penn himself remaining in London. It was not until the Revolutionary War that the colony got rid finally of the last shred of the proprietary form of government under which Penn and his descendants had ruled the province for nearly a hundred years. Maryland emerged from the turmoil following the revolution in England with a royal governor. The province continued to be so ruled until, in 1715, the fifth Lord Baltimore renounced the Roman Catholic faith and thereby recovered control of the colony as proprietor, the government remaining proprietary until the Revolutionary War. The feeling in the middle colonies against the Roman Catholics was for a time bitter, and laws of much severity were passed concerning them.

The growth of population in the colonies in the eighteenth century was prodigious. At the time of the revolution in England, 1688, there were about two hundred thousand persons of European birth or descent in the twelve colonies. In the succeeding sixty years this number had increased sixfold—to twelve hundred thousand; and some estimates place the figures even higher. At the same time there were no fewer than two hundred and fifty thousand negro slaves scattered through the colonies,

the large majority being in the southern and middle provinces.

The pursuits of the people were diversified. Shipbuilding, the lumber trade and the fishing industry flourished in New England. Albany remained the centre of the traffic in furs, and the town of New York early became an important commercial centre and grew rapidly in influence. Tobacco continued to be the great staple product of Virginia and Maryland, while in the Carolinas and Georgia, which had been colonized under a charter which Oglethorpe, from motives of the highest philanthropy, had secured in 1732, there developed a valuable export trade with Europe and the West Indies in Indian corn, rice and indigo. In addition to the English, the farming class in the northern colonies was composed of the Dutch in New York, scattered along the valleys and on the broad estates of the patroons; the Scotch-Irish and the Germans in central and eastern Pennsylvania and in Delaware; and the Swedes and Dutch, comparatively few in number, in the Jerseys.

With the population of the colonies increasing so rapidly, through natural causes and by fresh immigration, it was inevitable that there should be corresponding changes from decade to decade in the social and religious, as well as in the political, life of the people. Thus the new charter for the province of Massachusetts Bay which Sir William Phips brought to Boston as royal governor in 1692 abolished the religious test for voters and substituted for it a property qualification. This change of itself went far to undermine the elaborate ecclesiastical structure which Winthrop and his Puritan followers in the Massachusetts Bay colony had raised for the protection and advancement of

the interests, secular as well as religious, of the colony. The decline in influence and authority of the New England ministry began from that time. Thenceforth the town-meeting became a broader and more accurate register of the people's will, freely expressed. A further sign of the reaction from the rigid sway of Puritanism appeared in the adoption in 1708 by the Saybrook Synod of an ecclesiastical system, approved later by the Connecticut legislature, midway between simple Congregationalism and Presbyterianism.

With the substantial lessening of the authority of the ministry there naturally followed a decrease in religious earnestness and a corresponding laxity in conduct. The "Great Revival," between 1734 and 1740, of which Jonathan Edwards, minister of the Northampton Church, was the leader, and which was continued by the Oxford scholar and orator, George Whitefield, was in the nature of a protest against the reaction from the severity of Puritan rule, and sought to bring men back to the old moral standards. Despite the excesses which accompanied it, the revival made a deep impression, especially in New England and in those parts of Virginia and New Jersey where Presbyterian churches had been established. The revival in England of which Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was the leader and in which Whitefield also took part, was a corresponding reaction from the corruption and laxity which followed the decline of the Puritan influence.

In Virginia political power as well as social prestige came to be more and more concentrated in the hands of the leading county families which had come to Virginia during the Cavalier migration. The Church of England retained

its preponderating influence, although the character of the clergy was not of the highest. The Scotch-Irish immigrants who settled in the Valley of Virginia brought with them their Presbyterian faith, and by the middle of the eighteenth century they had established their right to worship, thus breaking down the barrier which the Church of England had kept standing against non-conformists since the days of the Jamestown colony.

Popular education had made some advances, meanwhile, outside of Massachusetts and Connecticut, where the Puritans early established their public schools. There was a school at Newport, but there was no public provision for education in the Providence Plantations. After the English occupation of New Netherland, interest in public schools languished, and many of those which the Dutch had organized and maintained were given up. In the Jerseys, however, schools followed the Presbyterians and Congregationalists who came thither from New England. In Pennsylvania the Scotch-Irish maintained schools.

The planters of the tobacco and rice-growing provinces to the south continued, however, to teach their children themselves, or to provide them with private tutors. This method of instruction must have had merit, if one may estimate its value in developing the minds of the youth of the colony by the important parts which the gentlemen of Virginia played in public life later in the century. Politics in the large and better sense, however, and law formed the chief school in which the young men of family in the province were trained, while the control and management of the great estates from which they drew their incomes gave them both assurance and self-command, and developed

New-England: Numb. 614

The Boston News-Letter.

Published by Authority.

From Monday January 16. to Monday January 23. 1715.

London, October 1. 1715.

THE Royal Character OF THE High and Mighty Monarch, GEORGE, By the Grace of GOD, King of Great *Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, Duke of *Brunſwick* & *Lunenburgh*, Arch Treaſurer and Prince Elector of the Roman Empire: His Illuſtrious Qualifications are.

HIS Majeſty is the Son of Nobles, being the Son of Erneſt Auguſtus, firſt Elector of Brunſwick, by Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Sophia, Daughter of Frederick V. Elector Palatine of the Rine and King of Bohemia, by the Lady Elizabeth Daughter of King

As an Inſtance of this, It will be Sufficient to mention, That the Expence of His Palace, as to Eating & Drinking, was paid every Saturday; The Salaries of His Miniſters in Foreign Courts once a Month, and the Accompts of the Officers of His Houſhold, and of His Guards, and other Forces, twice a Year. His propenſity to Frugality never reſtrain'd His Liberality, in the Diſtribution of Rewards, Adequate to the Services that were done Him: In which He has not ſuffer'd Himſelf to be exceeded by any other. There is not a Prince in Europe more belov'd than He has always been by His Ancient Subjects, amongſt whom no Faction or Diſtinction is to be heard of; and who are never weary of reciting glorious Inſtances of His Juſtice & Moderation, eſpecially in Controverſies between the Prince and private Perſons, relating to the Title of Lands and Inheritances, &c.

A Prince that underſtands the Conſtitution of the Britiſh Monarchy better than any Foreigner living, and never ſpared any application to perfect Himſelf in the Knowledge of it. He underſtands Engliſh, and can Speak it as He does French, and Italian, to great Perfection. He is little addicted to any Divertion, have that Princely One of Hunting: And we have the greateſt Reaſon to hope the Monarchy will Flouriſh under the Adminiſtration of ſuch an accompliſh'd Prince, and ſuch

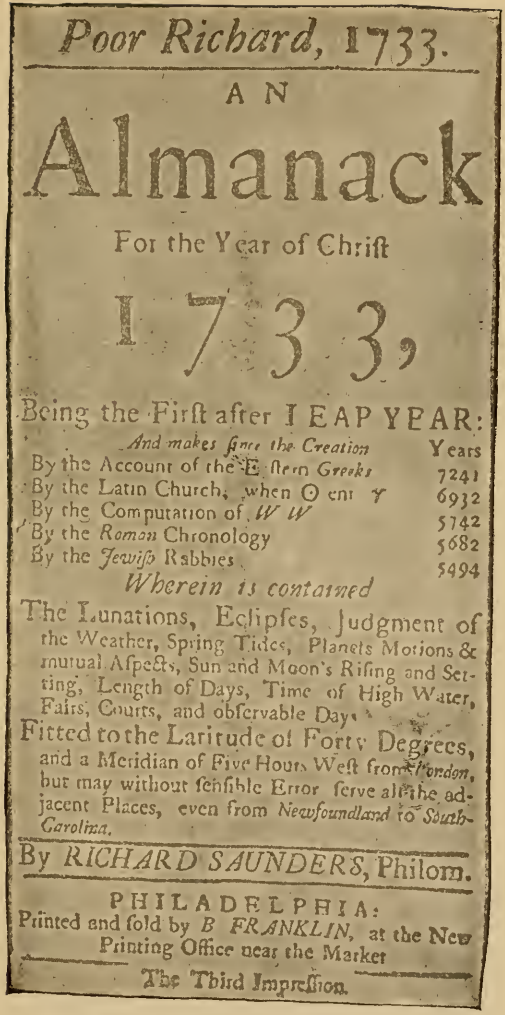
FRAGMENT, IN REDUCED FAC-SIMILE, OF THE "BOSTON NEWS-LETTER."

From a copy of the newspaper in the New York Public Library.

in them an uncommon talent for leadership. Not a few of the planters, however, sent their sons to the mother country to be educated.

As the population in the various centres increased, newspapers began to make their appearance. *The Boston News-Letter* began publication in 1704; *The American Mercury*, in Philadelphia in 1719; *The Weekly Journal*, in New York in 1733, and *The Virginia Gazette*, in Williamsburg in 1736. Philadelphia early became an intellectual centre, largely through the influence of Benjamin Franklin, whose *Poor Richard's Almanac*, first issued in 1732 and published annually for about twenty-five years, reached a wide popular audience. If he was deficient in ideals, Franklin had what is perhaps even more indispensable in a new and growing community—an abundance of common-sense; and the scraps of worldly wisdom which he scattered through his *Almanac* were good seed sown in fruitful soil at an opportune time.

In various places, too, and at long intervals foundations of institutions of the higher learning were being laid. Fifty-seven years passed after Harvard began its career before the College of William and Mary was chartered, in 1693, in Williamsburg, Va. Seven years later, in 1701, Yale was chartered as a collegiate school, not finding its permanent home in New Haven or its name, however, until 1718. Princeton's charter as the College of New Jersey was acquired in 1746, and was one of the fruits of the "Great Revival" of Jonathan Edwards. The University of Pennsylvania developed from an academy founded by Franklin in 1751. A public library, also due to Franklin, and a hospital were further evidences of the intellectual ac-



Poor Richard, 1733.

AN

Almanack

For the Year of Christ

1733,

Being the First after LEAP YEAR:

And makes since the Creation	Years
By the Account of the Eastern *Greeks*	7241
By the Latin Church, when O ent ♈	6932
By the Computation of *W W*	5742
By the *Roman* Chronology	5682
By the *Jewish* Rabbies	5494

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aspects, Sun and Moon's Rising and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Fairs, Courts, and observable Days.

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours West from *London*, but may without sensible Error serve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Carolina*.

By *RICHARD SAUNDERS*, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and sold by *B. FRANKLIN*, at the New Printing Office near the Market

The Third Impression.

FAC-SIMILE, REDUCED, OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF "POOR RICHARD'S ALMANAC."

tivity, especially in the sciences, that prevailed in Philadelphia. Founded as King's College in New York City, in 1754, Columbia acquired its present name in 1784. In 1804 Nicholas Brown gave a hundred thousand dollars and his name to Rhode Island College, in Providence, which had been founded in 1764. Two years later, in 1766, a charter was granted to Queen's College, in New Brunswick, N. J., which after many vicissitudes took the name in 1825 of Rutgers, from a benefactor of the institution, Henry Rutgers. Dartmouth College, which acquired its charter and its home in Hanover, N. H., from George III in 1769, and, at the same time, its name from its patron, the Earl of Dartmouth, had its origin in a school organized about 1750, at Lebanon, Conn., by the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock.

VI

RESISTANCE TO BRITISH TYRANNY

The curiosity of the world will probably never be altogether satisfied as to the reasons why George III and his ministers, in the decade from 1765 to 1775, treated the American colonies with an arrogance, short-sightedness and folly unparalleled in political history. A few things, however, deserve to be borne in mind. There were, in the first place, no precedents to guide the King and his chief ministers, Townshend and Lord North, in the business of framing laws for tens of thousands of Englishmen in remote colonies. The situation was new, unique. The counsel and warnings of the men of keen insight into the large political principles involved—Chatham, Burke, Barré and others, men who, while believing in the supremacy of Parliament, regarded the course of the King and his ministers as inexpedient and in some respects as unjust—were ignored. To the King and his successive ministries the policy of taxing the colonists and of exercising autocratic control over their internal affairs, legislative, judicial, financial and what not, seemed the only one consistent with the dignity and even the political integrity of the empire. They even justified to themselves the use of British troops in the large towns for coercive purposes, their only answer to the "Boston massacre," in which half a dozen townsmen were shot down by the soldiery, being a law providing that British soldiers indicted for murder should thereafter be tried in England.

George III, moreover, had weighty personal reasons for opposing stoutly the contention of the American colonists. The very principle of "no taxation without representation," upon which at the outset the colonists took their stand, was directly at variance with the system under which the members of the House of Commons were chosen. This system gave great power to the King through the representatives of the "rotten boroughs," containing few, or, in some instances, no, inhabitants, while at the same time it denied any representation to great and growing cities like Birmingham and Leeds. To admit the justice of the colonists' position would have been to invite reform in the election of members of Parliament, a contingency which George III could not contemplate without anxiety and even fear. For such a revolutionary change would have made Chatham the real ruler of England and would have reduced the King to a subordinate position, shorn of a large part of his power.

Finally, neither the King nor any one of his ministers, save Chatham, seems ever to have comprehended the fact that the colonists were fighting for a great political principle, or to have imagined until the very last that they were prepared to sacrifice their lives and their property in defense of this principle. Even the plain truths which Franklin uttered in the memorable examination to which he was subjected by the House of Commons with reference to the effects of the Stamp Act on the colonies, failed to convince the King or men like Townshend that principle and not expediency was the controlling motive of the Americans. It was in accordance with this belief, that from the American point of view the matter was one merely of shillings and

The BLOODY MASSACRE perpetrated in King Street on MONDAY the 5th March 1770 by a party of the 29th Regt.
Engraved Printed & Sold by PAUL REVERE Jun.
Unhappy Boston! see thy Sons deplore,
Thy hallow'd Walks besmear'd with guiltless Gore.
While faithless P—n and his savage Bands,
With murd'rous Rancour stretch their bloody Hands.
Like fierce Barbarians grinning o'er their Prey,
Approve the Carnage and enjoy the Day.
If scalding drops from Rage from Anguish Wrung,
If speechless Sorrows lab'ring for a Tongue,
Or if a weeping World can ought appease
The plaintive Ghosts of Victims such as these.
The Patriot's copious Tears for each are shed,
A glorious Tribute which embalms the Dead.
But know Fate summons to that awful Goal.
Where JUSTICE strips the Murderer's Soul;
Should venal C—ts the scandal of the Land,
Snatch the relentless Villain from her Hand,
Keen Execrations on this Plate inscribed,
Shall reach a JUDGE who never can be bribed.
The unhappy Sufferers were Mess.rs Sam.l Gray Sam.l Maverick, Jam.s Caldwell, Crispus Attucks & Patk Carr
Killed. Six wounded two of them (Christ.r Mone & John Clark) Mortally.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

Reduced from Paul Revere's engraving.

pence, and in order as well to help the British East India Company, that the King sought to beguile the colonists into purchasing tea from England, by making the price, even with the import duty added, lower than that of Dutch tea.

On the other hand, the American colonists were contending from the first for the rights which England, in the political enlightenment of later times, granted unhesitatingly to Canada, to Australia and to South Africa, and the possession of which binds these British colonies to the mother country with loyalty and affection. The Stamp Act, which could not be enforced and was consequently repealed, was designed merely to produce revenue. The Townshend acts, however, laying duties on glass, paper, tea and other imports, were broader in scope and deeper in design. The purpose of these measures was to concentrate in the hands of the King the absolute control of the internal affairs of the colonies through, first, the power of appointment and removal; secondly, the payment, from the revenue derived from the duties, of fixed salaries to governors, judges and other officials; and, thirdly, the maintenance of a civil and a pension list. Even the dullest of the colonists realized that to accept these measures would have meant political enslavement. The aim of Lord North's bills, following the defiant destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor, was frankly to bring the rebellious Massachusetts colony to its knees by the use of an armed force if necessary, and to compel it to acknowledge the supreme authority of Parliament in all its affairs.

The momentous issue thus raised was met by the men of Massachusetts with unfaltering courage. The King and his ministers hoped that the middle colonies would

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

In which Patrick Henry, in March, 1775, made his famous speech against Great Britain.

remain loyal, and there was some ground for this hope. For New York, where commercial interests, always timid even at the rumor of possible international danger, were predominant, and where the population was of mixed races, had broken away from the non-importation agreement among the colonies, and her legislature had refused to approve the action of the first Continental Congress or to appoint delegates to the second. But when the crisis became acute differences on minor points were forgotten and the colony, largely through the influence of Philip Schuyler and the Livingstons, was brought into line with her sister provinces.

In all of these controversies, which became more serious and more ominous year by year, Virginia and Massachusetts, the two colonies which had been settled exclusively by people of the English race and the original stock of which had remained the purest, stood side by side. Virginia, through the famous Resolves which Patrick Henry by his overwhelming eloquence forced through the House of Burgesses, took the lead in the resistance to the Stamp Act. And when, in retaliation for the destruction of the tea in 1773, the port of Boston was closed to commerce, Virginia and nearly all the other colonies, even South Carolina, made the cause of the unfortunate town their own, sending not only sympathy and encouragement but supplies of food and other commodities to the inhabitants thus cut off by sea, and therefore in those days entirely isolated, from the rest of the world.

The spirit of co-operation which was so large a factor in bringing and holding the colonies together in this supremely critical juncture had been created and fostered

through the genius for political management of Samuel Adams, whose local committees of correspondence welded the towns of the Massachusetts colony together and who applied successfully the same system to the inter-relations of the several colonies themselves. Thus the machinery was conveniently at hand for the calling of a provincial congress in Concord or Cambridge, when the legislature, in pursuance of the arbitrary and high-handed British policy, was forbidden to meet, as well as for the assembling at Philadelphia, in the autumn of 1774, of the first Continental Congress. The memorials, however, which that Congress adopted fell upon deaf ears. The King and his ministers had only one thought—to force the people of the colony of Massachusetts to accept the political yoke which Parliament sought to hang on their necks; and in order to accomplish this end the force of British troops at Boston was increased to ten thousand men under General Howe.

Up to this time resistance to British oppression had not been generally associated in the colonies with any idea of separation from the mother country. To most minds the notion of independence was unwelcome; to many, inconceivable. As a whole the American colonists had no desire for independence. They and their ancestors for perhaps four generations had lived in peace and contentment, as a rule, under the English flag. They were proud of this relationship and the depth and sincerity of their affection found spontaneous expression on the arrival of the news of the repeal by Parliament of the Stamp Act.

The leaders among the colonists reflected accurately this sentiment. Franklin, impressed doubtless by the evi-

dence on every hand of the power and resources of England, looked upon independence as an impossible alternative. Jefferson, as late as July, 1775, when the Virginia colonel of militia, George Washington, in obedience to the call of Congress, was taking command of the American forces at Cambridge, expressly denied that the object of the war was separation and the establishment of an independent government. "Necessity has not yet driven us to that desperate measure," he added. Little did he then think that in less than a year's time he would be writing the Declaration of Independence!

Washington himself came to the idea of independence reluctantly. When he took command of the army neither he nor the rest of the country, with the exception of a few individuals, had reached the point of considering independence as the object of the war. It soon became apparent to him, however, as it did to other patriots, that the alternatives between which a choice must be made were complete subjugation, political as well as military, to Great Britain, or independence. To a man of Washington's character, in which great strength of will was united to a passionate love of freedom, there could be only one way out of such a dilemma—through independence.

There was one man in the colonies, however, who was remarkably equipped for the task which he set himself, and who began as early as 1768 to work toward the ultimate end of independence—Samuel Adams. Prolonged reflection upon the broad political principles involved had convinced Adams, far in advance of his contemporaries, that separation from England was the only possible solution of the difficult problem. From that time he worked,

CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA.
Meeting-place of the First Continental Congress.

quietly when necessary, but unceasingly, in a great variety of devious but effective ways, to influence and shape public opinion. Whenever, as occasionally happened, in the years following, the fires of resistance to British oppression burned low and threatened, through indifference or self-interest, to die out altogether, this far-seeing, deep-plotting Boston patriot heaped fresh fuel upon the flames and carefully tended them, until such time as some new display of despotic power and stupidity on the part of the King and his advisers served to relieve him of his self-appointed task.

VII

INDEPENDENCE BY REVOLUTION

The military situation in the spring of 1776 was serious. The British regulars having in the previous year tested the temper and the marksmanship of the Americans at Bunker Hill, on the slopes of which more than a thousand of their number had been killed or wounded, were in no mood to face the breastworks which Washington threw up on Dorchester Heights, and were consequently forced, in March, to evacuate the town of Boston, sailing away to Halifax.

The military operations around New York, which followed the transfer soon after of the American army to that point, were decidedly in favor of the British. Washington showed his resourcefulness as a commander in defeat by the skill with which he extricated his force of eight thousand men from the dangerous predicament in which they were left by the disastrous battle of Long Island. He was materially aided in this operation by the dilatoriness of his opponent, General Howe, who, as General Francis V. Greene observes in his *Revolutionary War*, never recovered from the mental paralysis which he received at Bunker Hill; and he was favored also by adverse winds which prevented the British fleet from proceeding up the East River and cutting off his retreat.

Other misfortunes followed—the battle of Kip's Bay and the capture by the British of Fort Washington, with

more than two thousand men, so that December found the American commander-in-chief with the remnants of his army, about three thousand in number, retreating rapidly through New Jersey and across the Delaware, Lord Cornwallis pursuing him with vigor. The withdrawal in fancied security of most of the British forces to New York gave Washington his opportunity, a little later, for his brilliant dash to Trenton, where he captured a thousand men, mostly Hessians. By military strategy of the highest order he held at the Assanpink River the main British force, hastily dispatched from New York under Cornwallis in order to retrieve the disaster of Trenton, while by a forced night march over a roundabout route he fell upon the three regiments which had been left at Princeton and routed them completely, the killed, wounded and captured of the enemy numbering fully five hundred.

These two exploits, at Trenton and Princeton, which in their conception and execution have always aroused the admiration of military experts, came at a time when the outlook for the colonists was blackest. They served immediately to bring Washington into high distinction, not only as a soldier but as a statesman who was ready to assume every risk in order to turn the tide of war in favor of the American cause and who realized that an immediate victory of positive value was necessary for its effect upon public sentiment throughout the colonies and upon the spirits of his little army. The popular movement for independence had been greatly accelerated by the publication, early in 1776, of Paine's *Common Sense*. Much of the enthusiasm, however, with which the adoption at Philadelphia in July of the Declaration of Independence had

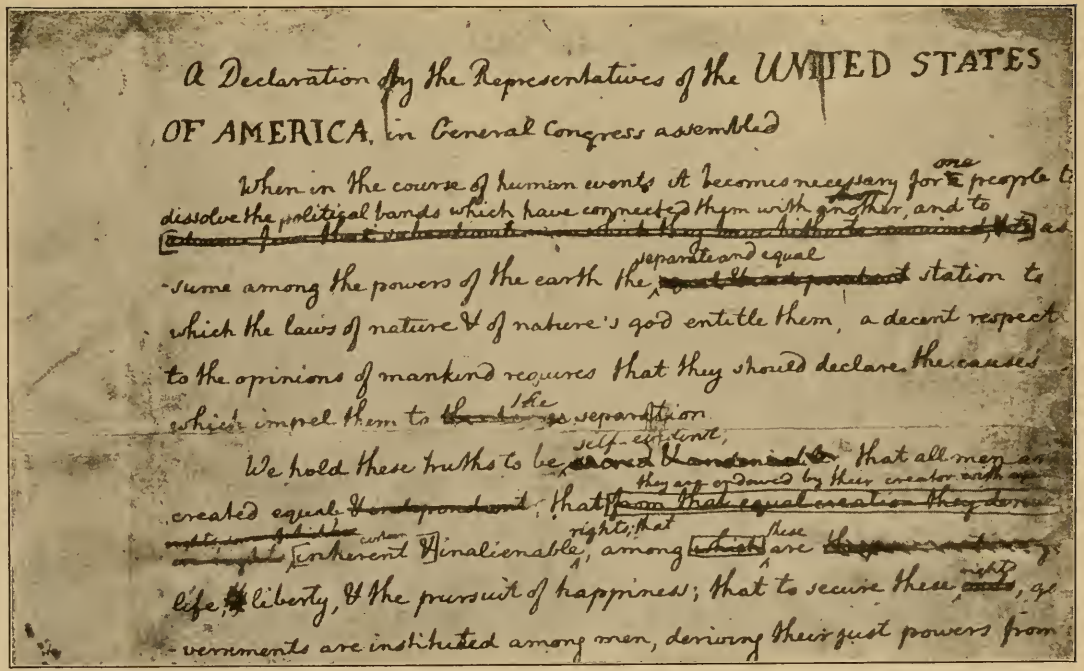
A VIEW OF BOSTON IN 1768.

Reduced from Paul Revere's engraving.

been received had died out; what was imperatively needed was a substantial military victory. It is not too much to say, therefore, that Trenton and Princeton, coming when they did, saved the Revolution.

The next critical period of the war was the series of engagements culminating at Saratoga in October, 1777, when the British general, Burgoyne, hemmed in and attacked on all sides by the hastily summoned militia of New York and New England, with the few Continental troops that Washington could spare, all under General Gates, surrendered more than five thousand men. The battle was critical for two reasons: first, because it made impossible any further attempt on the part of the British to split the colonies in twain by an expedition from Canada that should form a junction with Howe or Clinton in New York City and thus secure control of the Hudson Valley; and, secondly, because it offered convincing proof to Europe of the ability of the Americans to win their independence, and so led directly to the treaty with France acknowledging that independence and securing for the colonies through this alliance substantial aid in men, ships, supplies and even money.

Washington's part in this campaign was to keep Howe occupied so as to prevent him from sending reinforcements to Burgoyne. Thus the battle of the Brandywine in the middle of September and the battle of Germantown early in October, both of which Washington lost to Howe, contributed indirectly to the American victory at Saratoga, because this expedition of the British by water for the capture of Philadelphia diverted to this purpose fully eighteen thousand men, a portion at least of


A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inherent & inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from

FAC-SIMILE OF ROUGH DRAFT OF OPENING SENTENCES OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.
From the original in the Department of State at Washington.

whom Howe might and should have sent north to the aid of Burgoyne. Political reasons, moreover, made it imperative that Washington should not allow Howe to march into Philadelphia unopposed, just as in the previous year similar reasons had made it necessary for him to oppose Howe's attempt to occupy New York, although the successful defense of the city against a greatly superior force supported by a fleet of warships must have seemed, as it turned out to be, hopeless. The winter of 1777–1778 passed with Howe and his British army in Philadelphia and with Washington and his half-starved Continentals at Valley Forge.

The ratification by Congress early in May, 1778, of the treaties of commerce and alliance with France, which Franklin, Deane and Lee had negotiated, and the news that a French fleet under D'Estaing was on the way to America, made it imperative for Sir Henry Clinton, who had relieved Howe in command of the British troops in Philadelphia, to evacuate that city and to concentrate his forces in New York. Emerging from Valley Forge, with a force which had been increased during the spring to about ten thousand men, Washington overtook Clinton and engaged him at Monmouth. But for the treachery of the English soldier of fortune, Charles Lee, to whom Washington gave the command of the advance column, a decisive victory for the Americans would without doubt have been won. As it was, Washington himself came up in season to turn a disgraceful retreat into a drawn battle. Clinton made his way to New York, with the loss in casualties and desertions of between fifteen hundred and two thousand men since leaving Philadelphia. Washington

established himself with his army near by, observing and waiting.

Up to this point Washington had been guided in his conduct of the war by two strategic principles of the highest importance. His first aim was to keep his army, whether it was small or large, in the field and to avoid fighting except under conditions of his own choosing. Experience, moreover, had taught him that the possession of no city or town, neither New York nor Philadelphia even, was essential to the cause of independence; but the continued existence of the main army of the colonies, he reasoned, was all-essential to the final attainment of this end. Consequently he never tried to recapture New York, and refused to fight Clinton before Philadelphia, except on his own terms. His second strategic principle recognized the valley of the Hudson as the key to the military control of the colonies as a whole. He resolutely refused, therefore, until the time came for the final stroke that was to end the war at Yorktown, to be lured away from this pivotal point. He declined to go north to oppose Burgoyne or south to save his own province and the Carolinas from being devastated. He was never, even when at Valley Forge, more than a few days' march from the Hudson.

By this policy Washington held a large British force inactive in New York or in Philadelphia, his line of communication with the New England colonies was always open by way of West Point and he prevented the division of the colonies into halves, each of which unsupported by the other or by the main army might have been overrun and conquered. It was through the treason of Benedict

Arnold that the British plotted to secure, without a blow, the fortress of West Point and thus to wrest from Washington the control of the river and the valley. Finally, in the successful execution of the broad military plan here outlined, Washington was materially assisted by the temperamental sluggishness and general inefficiency of the commanders-in-chief of the British forces successively opposed to him, Sir William Howe and Sir Henry Clinton.

Monmouth was the last battle to be fought in the North; thereafter the South was the scene of the final military operations. Two events of the year 1780 were distinctly favorable to the British, the capture of Lincoln and his army in the town of Charleston, and the defeat of Gates at Camden. Lincoln, by following his commander-in-chief's first strategic principle, might have saved his army by retreating into the country and by allowing the British to enjoy the empty advantage of occupying the town unopposed. The failure of Gates, to whom after Saratoga a general command had been given by Congress, carried with it a fortunate result. For Congress tardily but wisely entrusted to Washington the selection of his successor, and the appointment of General Nathanael Greene to this position marked the turning-point in the campaign in the South.

Greene had the energy and military ability which his predecessor lacked, and amply justified Washington's judgment as to his character and capacity. Having, early in 1781, formed a junction of his army with Morgan's forces, after the defeat by the latter of Tarleton at Cowpens, he was strong enough later in the year to contribute largely to the final victory at Yorktown by forcing Cornwallis

OLD FORT PUTNAM—THE KEY TO THE DEFENSES AT WEST POINT—SHOWING THE MAGAZINES.
In the distance are Constitution Island and the Hudson River.

into Virginia within reach of Washington and by occupying the attention of Lord Rawdon so constantly in the Carolinas that he was prevented from detaching any of his force to go to Cornwallis's aid, even when the latter found himself hemmed in on all sides at Yorktown.

Throughout the war, up to this time, the control of the sea had been of the greatest advantage to the British because of the facility with which they could move troops from New York to any point along the coast. When, in the spring of 1781, the information reached Washington that a French fleet under De Grasse was on its way to America, he knew that this advantage was about to be neutralized and that the day was near at hand when, if he could control the movements of De Grasse, the final blow would have to be struck with all the force that could be assembled. When later he learned that the objective point of De Grasse was the Chesapeake, he rapidly made his dispositions to overwhelm Cornwallis, who had been laying waste Virginia, in the hope of ending the war with a single stroke. The British ministry, pleased with the work of devastation which had been accomplished, came, at this juncture, to the aid of the plan which Washington was formulating by ordering Cornwallis to remain on the Chesapeake. In obedience to these instructions he fortified Yorktown as best he could, relying on the co-operation of the British fleet from New York for his defense. When, however, the French fleet under De Grasse entered the Chesapeake and Washington himself, having made a forced march from New York, attacked his front, he was in a vice from which there was no escape. All the military authorities are agreed that from a strategic point of

view the Yorktown campaign was boldly and brilliantly conceived, and that the execution of the plan was masterly.

The surrender took place on October 17, 1781, more than seven thousand British and Hessians laying down their arms. There was no alternative, the investing force being greatly superior in numbers—about nine thousand Americans and seven thousand French, together with the fleet of De Barras which had joined that of De Grasse. But for the substantial help which France contributed at this crisis to the cause of freedom in America, making the decisive victory at Yorktown possible, the war might have dragged on for years. As it was, more than two years were to pass before the last English soldiers remaining in America sailed from New York, the treaty of peace negotiated with England by Adams, Jay and Franklin being formally signed in the autumn of the same year, 1783. Following the British soldiers went the loyalists, to the number of fully twenty thousand. They sailed to Canada, Nova Scotia, Bermuda or the British West Indies and made their homes there.

The part which the American privateers played in the Revolutionary War was not unimportant. Between 1776 and 1783 more than fifteen hundred armed vessels, all but a small proportion of which were of private ownership, were fitted out in American ports to prey on British commerce. Of this number New England contributed more than one-half. Up to the time of the French alliance these American cruisers, public and private, had captured more than six hundred English vessels, many of them rich prizes. Meanwhile, however, British cruisers had captured half as many again American vessels, practically ruining the coast-

wise and fishing trade of New England. The odds, therefore, were decidedly in favor of England, notwithstanding the loss which her merchant marine suffered.

The one great naval exploit of the Revolution, which has a unique distinction never likely to be duplicated, was the capture, off the north coast of England, of the British frigate *Serapis* by Paul Jones in the *Bonhomme Richard*, the Americans being forced to abandon their own ship as she sank under them, vitally wounded, and to take refuge on the frigate which they had captured.

Finally, the conduct of the Revolutionary War emphasized in a dramatic manner the remarkable combination of qualities, moral and intellectual, personal and professional, which Washington, fortunately for his country, brought to the herculean task which had been laid upon him. The obstacles with which he had to contend from the outset were wellnigh endless in number and apparently insurmountable in character—a Congress without power or authority and therefore without credit, the feebleness of which increased as the really able men in its thin ranks departed on diplomatic missions or returned to take charge of affairs in their respective colonies; the supineness and indifference of the colonial governments to his repeated appeals for men and supplies when these could not be obtained from Congress; a system of short-term enlistments which was almost fatal to the efficiency of his army and left him ignorant of what his force was to consist of almost from month to month; dissension, suffering and even mutiny in the ranks of his unpaid, ill-clothed, half-starved army; envy, jealousy and even conspiracy among his officers; injustice and demoralization caused

by the officious interference of Congress in appointing foreign soldiers, many of them, unlike Lafayette and Steuben, mere soldiers of fortune, to positions of rank. This is only a partial list.

Yet through all these and a thousand other trials, great or petty, which would have broken a less resolute spirit, Washington pursued his even way, with his mind fixed on the main purpose of the war, constantly writing to Congress or to the colonial governments and pointing out the nature and urgency of his needs; pledging his private fortune in order to secure food and clothes for his soldiers; devising plans at one and the same time for raising funds and for defending some point threatened by the enemy; advising Congress against a projected French attack upon Canada; overwhelming with his cold scorn the Irish adventurer Conway, the leader in the abortive conspiracy to force the commander-in-chief into retirement in order that Gates might succeed him; driving the traitor Lee to the rear because of his behavior at the battle of Monmouth; showing the greatest tact and delicacy in his dealings with the French allies; and, in a word, rising equal to any and every emergency which he was called upon to meet, in a manner, it is safe to say, that could have been matched by no other man in a generation of great men.

VIII

THIRTEEN JEALOUS STATES

At the end of the Revolutionary War the American people found themselves burdened with a public debt due foreign creditors, France, Holland and Spain, of between nine and ten million dollars. This sum represented only a small fraction of the total cost of the war, the remainder having been borne by the people of the states. It was large enough, however, to embarrass greatly a Congress which had no power to lay and collect taxes, but was dependent upon the states to contribute their share to meet the interest payments as they came due. Although the population of the country had increased by half a million during the war, the people were poor. Commerce, which had flourished in the New England states especially, had been practically destroyed. Of the one hundred and fifty whalers, for example, hailing from the port of Nantucket at the beginning of the war, no fewer than one hundred and thirty-four were captured by British cruisers and fifteen were wrecked, leaving only one of the entire fleet to escape. The cod and mackerel fisheries and the West Indian trade had been similarly ruined. The great body of the people, however, supported themselves by agriculture, and to this they turned with renewed energy.

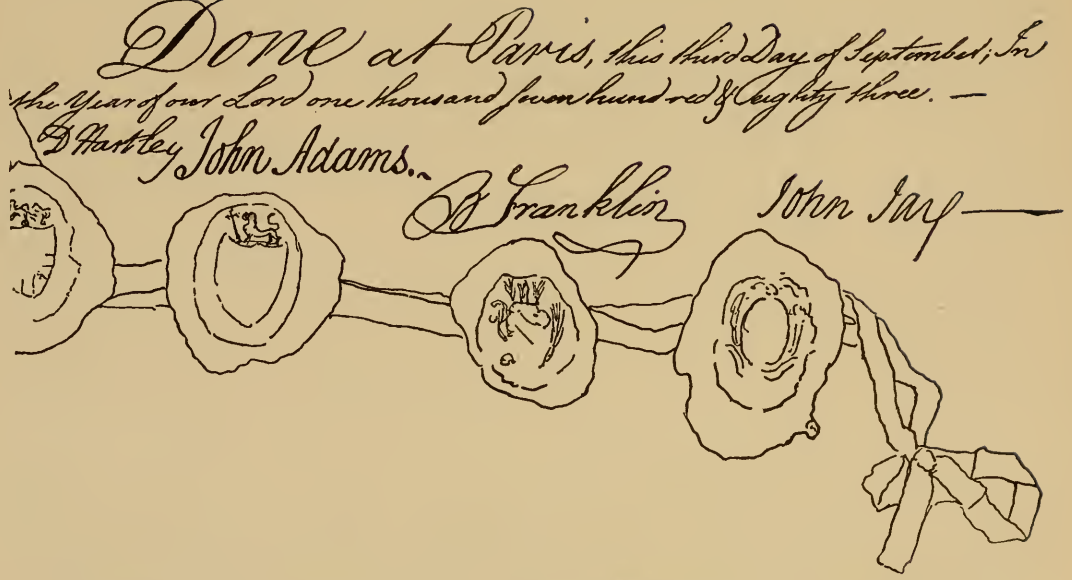
Meanwhile the conditions under which they were living had changed in important respects. It had become necessary, when independence was declared, for all of the states

except the two, Connecticut and Rhode Island, which had been allowed to continue under their original charters, to adopt new constitutions adapting the machinery of the state governments to the changed conditions growing out of the severance of relations with the mother country. All of these changes were in the direction of greater freedom. Even the governors of the states were shorn of most of their powers, authority being concentrated in the representatives of the people. The state governments, consisting of a chief executive and an upper and a lower house, followed the old colonial model, the upper house growing out of the governor's council. A varying property qualification was necessary for membership in either house, but the right to vote was extended so that it included all freemen except those who through shiftlessness or improvidence had no motive in keeping taxes low. In all but one of the states judicial officers were appointed by the governors or the legislatures for a definite term, for life, or during good behavior. In all of the states except Georgia and South Carolina where slave labor was becoming more and more necessary for the cultivation of rice and indigo, decided steps were taken toward the prohibition of the slave trade and the gradual emancipation of the slaves. Under the new constitution which Massachusetts had adopted slaves were even declared to be free.

Progress was also made toward greater freedom in religious worship. In several of the states, in Virginia, South Carolina and elsewhere, the Church of England was disestablished, and parish rates and religious tests were abolished, thus severing the connection between church and state. This separation was not wholly effected in

Massachusetts and in one or two other New England states, where Congregationalism remained a powerful political factor, until the beginning of the following century. The Presbyterians, meanwhile, who had developed strength in the middle states and in northern Virginia, laid the foundation for a national church by organizing their first general assembly. The Methodists also chose their first bishop at a conference in Baltimore in 1784.

The chief interest, however, of the thoughtful men in all of the states during these years following the close of the Revolutionary War was centred in the apparently insoluble problem presented by a Congress without power on the one hand and thirteen independent, self-centred, jealous states on the other. The federal idea had been of slow growth. It began with the New England Confederation under which, in 1643, the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven made an offensive and defensive league for the regulation of affairs of mutual concern, ecclesiastical and commercial as well as military. More than a hundred years later, in 1754, Franklin submitted to the congress of colonial delegates at Albany, assembled to secure the aid of the Five, then become the Six, Nations in the impending war with the French, a project for a federal union of all the colonies for defensive and other general purposes. This plan in which the idea of an American nation was foreshadowed for the first time was prophetic of the potential power and greatness which to the keen vision of Franklin lay in the rapidly expanding population and in the richness and extent of the land west of the Alleghanies. Accepted by the congress, Franklin's project was rejected by


Done at Paris, this third Day of September; In
the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & eighty three. —
D. Hartley
John Adams.
B. Franklin
John Jay

FAC-SIMILES OF THE SIGNATURES OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS TO THE TREATY OF PARIS.

the colonial legislatures and by the people. He was in advance of his time. A quarter of a century was to pass before England by her treatment of her colonies was to force them into a successful war for independence and bring them face to face with the necessity of forming a federal union.

The Continental Congress, first assembled in Philadelphia in October, 1774, an emergency body called into being, as we have seen, by the critical situation in Boston, sat until 1781 before its powers were defined by the Articles of Confederation, exercising by general consent many of the functions of a regularly constituted federal government, but lacking the most essential of all attributes of sovereignty, the authority to raise money by taxation. The Articles of Confederation themselves did not remedy this fatal defect in the scheme, but left the control of all taxes, import duties as well as internal taxes, in the hands of the states and made no provision by which the federal government could enforce its will upon a state that refused to contribute its share toward the general expenses of the government. Moreover, no bill could be made a law without the vote of two-thirds of the states in its favor. Any five states, therefore, of the thirteen could block a measure and prevent it from passing. Finally, the Articles of Confederation left the government in a state of utter and shameful helplessness in its dealings with foreign nations. When, at the end of the Revolutionary War, England made peace, the treaty specified the thirteen states by name; the American government was not recognized as competent to make a treaty or to carry out the terms of one.

The weakness of the general government under the

Articles of Confederation was chiefly due to the jealous watchfulness with which the states, from force of long habit, guarded their hard-won rights, and to the natural reluctance with which they resigned any of these rights to an abstraction like the federal government. The consequence was that the Articles of Confederation, however imposing an appearance they may have presented, were only the shadow and not the substance of government. They did not even possess the germ of the national idea. That idea was of very slow growth in the minds of men who by years of usage and by generations of tradition had become adjusted in thought and practice to the workings under their eyes and within reach, so to speak, of their hands of the system of state government.

The cardinal principles which were to form the foundation of the national system were first outlined by Washington in the circular letter which he sent to the governors of the states when, in 1783, the American army disbanded —the results, one must believe, of careful observation of the inefficiency of the government during the war and of long reflection upon possible remedies for that inefficiency. These fundamental requisites were, first, an indissoluble union of the states under one federal head; second, provision, necessarily involving the right of taxation, for the full payment of the public debt; third, the organization of a militia system on a uniform basis which would make the force available for federal purposes; and, fourth, fraternity and co-operation in place of local prejudices and parochial policies, a spirit of mutual concession and a willingness to sacrifice individual advantage in the interest of the general prosperity.

This high political ideal was reached in the Constitution adopted by the convention of 1787, but the pathway to it was long and rough and thorny. Few persons, it is safe to say, imagined that Maryland was turning her face toward that goal when she refused to accept the Articles of Confederation until the four states, Virginia, New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts, which under their original charters or by military occupation laid claim to the territory lying between the Ohio River and the Lakes, should relinquish those claims to the control of Congress. Maryland had proposed earlier that there be included in the Articles of Confederation one providing for a division of this territory north of the Ohio into states under the authority and direction of Congress. The delegates, however, were not ready then to take so long a step toward a centralized government. The refusal of Maryland to recede from its position gave rise to wide discussion, with the ultimate result that one by one the four states concerned relinquished their claims to the territory in dispute, New York taking the lead. Connecticut was permitted, as a compromise measure, to reserve for educational purposes a strip of land on the southern shore of Lake Erie.

It only remained, therefore, for Congress to provide a series of laws suitable for the government of this new territory and a body of general principles to which it would be necessary for the states to conform as they were carved, one by one, out of this territory. These laws and principles were embodied in the Ordinance of 1787, the influence of which upon subsequent events was of the greatest importance. They provided, in brief, that this

territory north of the Ohio should ultimately be divided into not more than five states, in which slavery should forever be prohibited; that the appointment of officers to govern this territory should rest with Congress; that freedom of religious worship should prevail and that no religious tests should be required of public officials; that the right to vote should be restricted to the possessors of freeholds of fifty acres or more; and that no law should be passed impairing the obligations of contracts. "I doubt," said Daniel Webster, "whether one single law of any law-giver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787."

This ordinance carried out in successful detail the project which Jefferson had brought forward in the Ordinance of 1784, but which was too radical a measure for Congress to accept at that time. Its importance and significance lay in the fact that its passage was the exercise by Congress for the first time of national sovereignty in its highest form, and was so in harmony with changed public opinion in favor of a strong central government that the absence of any authority in the Articles of Confederation for the enactment of so sweeping a measure and the neglect of Congress to refer the matter to the states for their approval, were both acquiesced in by the people.

What were the causes of the change in public sentiment which made possible this Ordinance of 1787, under which the great commonwealths of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin were one by one formed into independent states? The chief cause was the fear, which by the winter of 1787 had become acute, lest the country should drift into anarchy or even civil war, if something were

not done immediately to avert the danger. The reality and the magnitude of this danger were apparent to the more thoughtful men throughout the older states. Communication between the principal cities was slow and infrequent. The Boston merchant who had occasion to go to New York took more time for the journey, in one of the two stages that sufficed for the passenger traffic in those days, than he would require now to go to Seattle—a week or even ten days, over rough roads and across rivers by ford. The antagonisms and jealousies of the states thus had time to take root and flourish in the long intervals that elapsed when disputes were pending. The craze for paper money had threatened to bankrupt several of the states and had impoverished the people. Riotous outbreaks in New Hampshire and Vermont were followed by armed rebellion under the leadership of Shays in western Massachusetts, directed mainly against the courts as the instruments of the state for the collection of debts which the farmers, in their distress, could not pay. Several of the northern and southern states, including Kentucky and Tennessee, were in a bitter quarrel over the proposed commercial treaty with Spain, in the interest of the northern merchants and ship-owners, the price for which was to be a renunciation of the claim of the United States to the control of the Mississippi below the Yazoo. So intense was the feeling over the matter that threats of secession from the confederation were freely made on both sides, ceasing only when the treaty was withdrawn. And the climax was reached when early in 1787 New York, alone of the thirteen states, refused her assent to the proposed amendment to the Articles of Confederation giving Congress the

power to lay and collect import duties sufficient to meet the interest on the public debt. New York would not give up the revenue from or the control of her customs, and the unanimous consent of the states being necessary for such an amendment, the measure failed and the wheels of the federal government were completely blocked.

Under these chaotic conditions public sentiment underwent a rapid change in favor of a convention that should find a way out of the strife, turmoil and danger, through the formation of a stronger government with greater powers. It was in response to this sentiment that Congress called a convention to meet in Philadelphia, on May 14, 1787, the place and the date coinciding with those of the adjourned Annapolis convention, in which Washington had showed a deep interest, and which had been assembled to discuss and, if possible, to regulate the discordant commercial relations of the different states.

IX

UNION UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitutional Convention was as representative not only of the political wisdom but of the general intelligence of the states as any assembly that could have been convened. Of its fifty-five members a large percentage, thirty-two, consisted of men of college training, not a few of whom had made themselves, by special study, masters of the science of government. These included nine graduates of Princeton, the chief of whom was James Madison, five of William and Mary, four of Yale, three of Harvard, two of Columbia, one of whom was the brilliant young lawyer, Alexander Hamilton, and one each of Pennsylvania and of several English and Scotch universities. The four men who in breadth of knowledge and variety of experience excelled all their colleagues in this distinguished assembly were Washington, Franklin, eighty-one years of age, Madison and Hamilton.

After deliberating more than four months in secret session the convention made public the text of a constitution which from that day to this has aroused the admiration of the profoundest of political philosophers and the closest students of the science of government. That these men with their necessarily limited vision could have drafted an instrument of such flexibility as to adapt itself equally well to a nation of less than four millions of people and to a nation, with its outlying dependencies, of over a hundred

millions, while allowing for the corresponding development of conflicting interests which would necessarily arise from this enormous increase in population, has been justly looked upon as little short of marvellous. "Yet, after all deductions," says James Bryce, "it ranks above every other written constitution for the intrinsic excellence of its scheme, its adaptation to the circumstances of the people, the simplicity, brevity and precision of its language, its judicious mixture of definiteness in principle with elasticity in details."

These results were not attained, however, without a prolonged controversy over every essential point. The states from force of long habit were tenacious of their rights and suspicious of each other, and when at last an agreement was reached on some controverted question, this result was attained only by concessions on both sides. The form which the two houses of Congress finally took was the result of a compromise, suggested by the delegates from Connecticut, between the conflicting ambitions of the large states and the small states, a compromise that was designed to equalize the representation, as far as it was possible to do so. Other important provisions were based on compromises. The northern states agreed to allow three-fifths of the slave population in the South to be included in the enumeration that was to serve as a basis for representation in the lower house of Congress, and to postpone for twenty years the suppression of the African slave trade. At this period cotton was cultivated to only a slight extent in the South, and slave labor was chiefly serviceable for rice and indigo culture in Georgia and South Carolina; slavery, it was therefore generally thought, would die out

gradually. A provision for the restoration of fugitive slaves to their owners was also accepted. In return for these concessions the consent of Georgia and South Carolina was secured to the provision allowing the federal government to have complete control of commerce. The foundations of the new government were, in fact, laid in compromise.

The debates in the state conventions to which the Constitution was referred for ratification, and in the innumerable newspapers and pamphlets of the day, immediately divided the public into two parties, the Federalists who favored the adoption of the Constitution as it stood, and the anti-Federalists who opposed its adoption, at all events unless it was modified in one particular or another. The Federalists had by far the better of these arguments, the ablest champion among them being Hamilton. The *Federalist* essays, which Hamilton, with assistance from Madison and Jay, wrote and published while the Constitution was before the New York legislature for ratification, constitute, according to John Fiske, "the most profound treatise on government that has ever been written." They were of unique value as an exposition and an interpretation of the Constitution in that they were written by the men who were most instrumental in giving that document its distinctive form and who were presumably best acquainted with the intentions of those who framed it.

One by one the states ratified the Constitution, although the opinion was general that the new government would be experimental merely and might turn out to be as unworkable as the old one had been under the Articles of Confederation. The absolute and immediate need, however, of

some sort of a centralized government was so universally conceded that a large majority of the states were quite willing to give the new Federalist Constitution a trial. It was significant, however, of the absence of unanimity of sentiment that the great states of Virginia and New York should still be wrangling over its provisions when the requisite number of states, nine, ratified it. In time all fell into line, several, however, by a close vote and one or two under coercion. The first ten amendments to the Constitution were adopted in the first session of Congress and were immediately ratified by the states, so that they may be regarded as a part of the original instrument. In the nature of a bill of rights, they were designed to guarantee freedom of speech, religion and person and the protection of property.

The Federalist party which came into power at the first election under the Constitution of 1789, when Washington was chosen President and John Adams Vice-President, remained in control of the government for twelve years—during the two terms of Washington and the one term of Adams, Jefferson having been elected Vice-President under Adams. It was a task of appalling proportions and of unparalleled difficulties which the Federalists in this period set themselves to perform. For they were not only required to devise, to set up and to start in operation, without precedents to guide them, the highly-complicated machinery required by the various government departments, including the United States courts, but they were also expected to create, adopt and carry into effect a financial and economic policy which should give cohesion and power to the new government and prosperity to the country.

This task, the enormous responsibilities of which would have crushed an ordinary man, was undertaken by Hamilton, whom Washington had made Secretary of the Treasury in his first cabinet.

No wiser choice could have been made. For Hamilton, although he was only thirty-two, brought to this tremendous undertaking technical knowledge of wide range, practical skill of the highest order in the application of this knowledge to existing conditions, rare judgment and unwearying industry. What was of even greater importance than his intellectual equipment was the fact that his execution of this task was based upon a statesmanship so national in its scope that it included men of all parties throughout the country and so sound and so far-reaching that its effect upon the form of the government and upon the public policy which was developed in those early years can never be effaced. In rapid succession Hamilton submitted reports and bills providing for the creation of a national bank, a mint and a currency system; a funding plan for turning the $75,000,000 or so of public debts, foreign, domestic and state, into government bonds; and revenue measures laying duties on imports and taxing the manufacture of spirits. At the beginning of its career Congress had passed a tariff bill, the real purpose of which was to produce revenue for the expenses of the government, although the preamble described it as "for the encouragement and protection of manufactures." Hamilton, however, brought forward a plan designed to encourage the establishment and to foster the growth of manufactures by a system of bounties and protective duties which had in it the germ of the protectionist idea on which, many

years later, parties were to divide and a great economic policy was to be founded.

Hamilton hoped, and with good reason, that the general effect of his financial and economic policy would be to supply the stimulus and the means for the development of the vast resources, industrial and commercial, as well as agricultural, which his prophetic vision saw were latent in the country. At the same time his policy was designed, in the words of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, "to create a strong and if possible a permanent class all over the country, without regard to existing political affiliations, but bound to the government by the strongest of all ties, immediate and personal pecuniary interest." If this end could be accomplished, the political effect, he reasoned, would be of enormous advantage in strengthening the power and increasing the prestige of the central government.

Out of the immediate discussion which these bold measures precipitated in Congress grew the Federalist party headed by Hamilton and the Republican party under the leadership of Jefferson who was also a member of Washington's cabinet. The Federalists favored a broad construction of the Constitution and advocated the theory of implied powers under the "general welfare" phrase. In their view of the Constitution the rights of the states and of individuals were subordinate to the supreme authority of the national government. Jefferson and Madison, who soon joined the Republican ranks, were advocates, on the other hand, of a strict construction of the Constitution. To them and their followers Hamilton's policy seemed to be devised for the purpose of creating and protecting

privileged classes. Democratic by instinct and training and influenced by the French Revolution and its flaming proclamation to the world of liberty, equality and the rights of man, Jefferson saw in the rapid development of a highly-centralized government with wellnigh unlimited authority the ominous threat of a monarchy, and the Federalists were openly accused of plotting to this end. There was some justification, moreover, for these accusations. Hamilton was by no means alone in his party in his lack of sympathy with the ideas of the French Revolution or in his distrust of American democracy. The epithet "democrats" which the Federalists applied to Jefferson and his followers was intended to express their contempt in much the same way that one might use the word "demagogue" to-day.

The first significant indication that the Federalist party was losing its hold upon the people followed the ratification of the treaty which Jay had negotiated in 1794 with England. In the previous year the French republic had declared war against Great Britain, whereupon the United States had issued a proclamation of neutrality, the first declaration of the American policy of non-intervention in the wars and politics of Europe. The right, however, of American merchant-vessels as neutrals to carry provisions to French or British ports was not recognized by either belligerent. Such vessels became liable, therefore, to seizure, if bound for any British or French port, and were captured and harassed without redress. The impressment of American seamen for service on British men-of-war, a practice which began at this period, also added to the bitterness of feeling toward England, and little further provocation was needed to induce the United States to declare

war against that nation. Jay was sent to England to avert this calamity, and the treaty which he negotiated served this purpose.

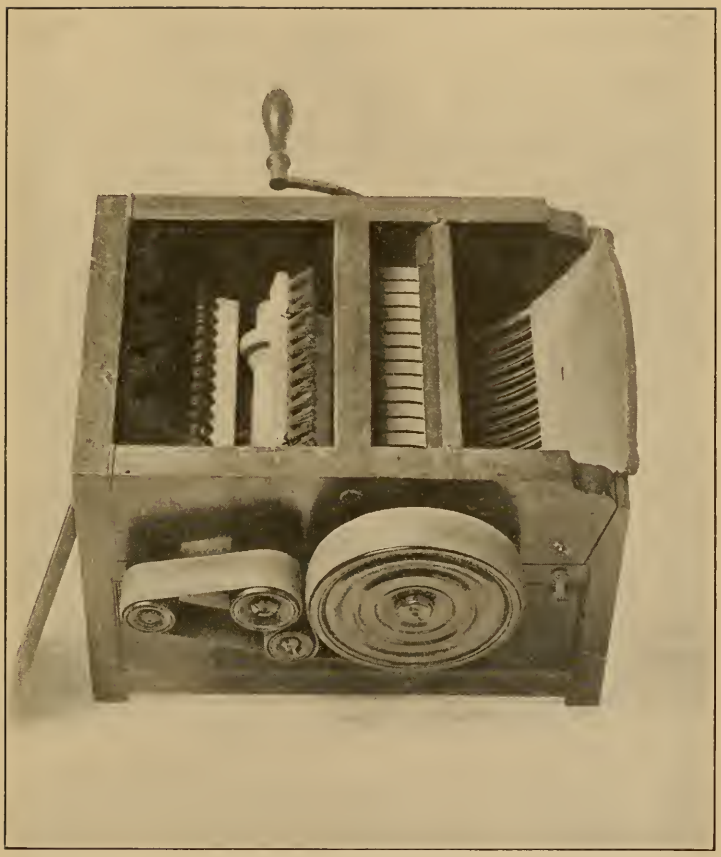
To the Federalists such a treaty, although it did not promise on its face to bring much relief to American commerce, seemed preferable to war with England; and the result more than justified this expectation. For it had the effect of at least postponing a conflict for nearly twenty years, and it did stimulate American commerce. The total exports from the United States, not including foreign products re-exported, more than doubled in value from 1795 to 1801, rising from $22,855,000 to $47,020,000. The total imports into the United States increased in the same period from $69,756,000 to $111,363,000. To the Republicans, however, this treaty of Jay's was a base betrayal of the national interests and honor by a party which thus openly and shamelessly avowed its subserviency to England and its sympathy with monarchical ideas. A shower of personal abuse and vilification was hurled upon Washington himself, whose popularity even in Virginia, where Republicanism was strongly entrenched, seemed to be in danger of being undermined.

It was in the passage, however, in 1798 of the Alien and Sedition laws that the Federalists in Congress committed their crowning blunder. Under these laws, by which Republican editors and local political leaders were liable to be arrested and thrown into jail or expelled from the country, the Constitution was stretched dangerously near the breaking-point. The apparent purpose of these laws was to suppress free speech and to enable the Federalists, by getting rid of their most troublesome opponents, to

establish themselves so firmly in power that they could not be dislodged. The real purpose of the Federalists was to exert a restraining influence, through the convenient means of the federal courts, over the masses of the people who, according to the advanced theory of the party, were not altogether to be trusted.

The Republicans were quick to take advantage of the political opportunity which this extreme extension of the national authority over the individual gave them. The Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, drawn by Jefferson and Madison respectively, and passed by the legislatures of those states in 1798, were intended both as a protest against the harshness and illegality of these measures and as a reminder that there were limits beyond which the federal government could not go in its dealings with the state and with the individual. This early enunciation of the state rights, later known as the nullification doctrine, was to serve for years as the only documentary basis on which the party of Jefferson and Madison rested. The one thing that was wanting to make this theory of state sovereignty plausible, if not sound, was brought into the clear light by the Civil War sixty years later, that sovereignty is only an empty name if it has not the means and the power to enforce its will.

A war with France, as foolish in its origin and aim as it was brief in duration, could not be made to help the fortunes of the Federalists. Dissension and treachery in Adams's cabinet and a quarrel between Adams and Hamilton who, although he had become a private citizen, was still the real leader of the party, completed the demoralization of the Federalists, who lost the election of 1800 after



WHITNEY'S COTTON-GIN.
From a photograph of the model in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

a career which began in honor and high achievement and ended in folly and disaster.

The life of the American people did not concern itself exclusively with political matters, momentous and important as these were, in this decade. The invention by Eli Whitney, a Connecticut school-master living in Georgia, of the cotton-gin in 1793 had a greater effect in later years upon political, industrial and social conditions in the South than most of the measures passed by the Federalist Congresses. For Whitney's invention enabled a negro slave to clean a thousand pounds of cotton a day, while with a roller gin he could clean no more than six pounds in the same time. In other words Whitney's invention increased the value of slave labor, as applied to this branch of the cotton industry, more than one hundred and sixty fold. It was this sudden and enormous increase in the value of slave labor which changed the attitude of Virginia and her neighbors and made them defenders of slavery and sharers in the immensely profitable industry of raising slaves for sale to the cotton planters.

Under the stimulus of this invention and of the perfection in England of machinery for manufacturing cotton cloth the exports of this great staple, as it was soon to become, leaped, in the decade from 1791 to 1801, from 189,000 to 21,000,000 pounds. The same year of Whitney's invention saw the erection in Pawtucket of the first successful cotton factory in America, the machinery being copied from that just coming into use in English mills.

Other industries also began to make their appearance. The increase in the number of newspapers and the popularity of the pamphlet as a political weapon had caused so

large a demand for rag paper that by 1797 there were sixteen paper mills in Connecticut alone. Early in Washington's first administration anthracite coal had been discovered near what is now Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania, but, wood being plenty and cheap and transportation to tide-water being prohibitively expensive, these coal-fields were allowed to lie untouched. Years were to pass before this coal would be needed to generate steam-power and before steam-power as applied either to boats or to locomotive engines would be available to move the coal from the mines. Experiments, however, with various types of steam-power as applied to boats were taking place in England and in America, and John Fitch, like Whitney, a Connecticut inventor, in 1790 had constructed a steam-boat which, propelled by paddles arranged on the sides, reached a speed of seven knots an hour and was afterward used to carry passengers on the Delaware River.

Meanwhile the population of the United States as shown by the census had increased from nearly four million in 1790 to five million three hundred thousand in 1800, about thirty-five per cent. The most populous state at the end of the century was Virginia, with not far from nine hundred thousand inhabitants, of whom, however, about one-third were negro slaves. The next in order was Pennsylvania, with about six hundred thousand inhabitants, of whom fewer than four thousand were slaves. New York was third, with over half a million inhabitants, of whom about twenty-one thousand were slaves. Fourth in the list came North Carolina, with nearly half a million inhabitants, of whom about one-fifth were slaves. Massachusetts followed with a population of somewhat over four hundred thousand,

slavery having been abolished, as we have seen, by the new state constitution.

In the decade three new states had been admitted to the federal union, Vermont in 1791, the census of 1790 having shown the state to contain more than eighty-five thousand inhabitants; Kentucky in 1792 and Tennessee in 1796. The volume of the stream of migration which, in the ten years from 1790 to 1800, poured over the Alleghanies and down the Ohio Valley into this fertile territory may be inferred from the fact that Kentucky increased its population in that time by three hundred per cent—from 73,677 to 220,955—while the number of settlers in Tennessee grew, in the same interval, in practically the same ratio, from 35,691 to 105,602. In 1800 Ohio territory contained 45,365 inhabitants, and Indiana territory 5,641 only.

The centre of population moved directly westward in the decade, from a point on the eastern shore of Maryland a little south of east from Baltimore, to a point in central Maryland almost exactly north of Washington. Under an agreement made in the first Congress, as a result of one of the numerous compromises between the northern and southern claimants, the seat of government was to remain in Philadelphia for ten years and was then to be transferred to the District of Columbia. It is a curious coincidence that when this transfer was made, at the end of Adams's term of office, the centre of population for the United States was within twenty-five miles of the new capital of the nation.

X

AN ERA OF EXPANSION

THE ten years following the inauguration on March 4, 1801, of Thomas Jefferson as President and Aaron Burr as Vice-President of the United States were remarkable for the expansive energy shown by the American people. Jefferson came into power as the leader of the Republican party, the cardinal principle of whose policy had been a strict construction of the Constitution. Yet the purchase from Napoleon for fifteen million dollars of Louisiana, the whole vast, unknown, ill-defined territory lying to the west of the Mississippi River, was directly at variance with this principle. Such, however, are the exigencies of statecraft that the Republican administration found itself at the beginning of its career forced by circumstances to adopt the very course for which it had condemned the Federalists and to give a broad instead of a strict construction to the Constitution. Happily for his country Jefferson was too big a man to be frightened from the path on which he had set out by the bugbear of political consistency.

Louisiana at different times and by different treaties had passed from the hands of the French into the control of Spain and then back to France again. Napoleon's leading motive in selling it was to cripple his mighty adversary, England, although in exactly what way he expected this result to be accomplished is not clear. If his expedition to Santo Domingo had not met with disaster, Louisiana

might have become a powerful French colony. Such a colony, however, the head-quarters of which would necessarily have been New Orleans, would have been open to attack and probable capture by England's fleet, and no one knew this better than the First Consul. Jefferson let it be known, moreover, that the military occupation of New Orleans by the French might, and very probably would, have the effect of forcing the United States into an alliance with England, and such a result was far from what Napoleon desired. The urgent need of money was undoubtedly an influential factor also in inducing Napoleon to make to Livingston and Monroe, the latter of whom had been sent especially to France to bargain for the port of New Orleans and for west Florida, his sudden offer of Louisiana as a whole; fifteen millions, one may believe, being welcome in exchange for so distant, so vague and so exposed a possession.

Jefferson's ruling passion was for peace, and whenever his conduct of affairs showed signs of weakness or vacillation, this passion supplies the key to its meaning. If Napoleon had landed an army in New Orleans his troops would have met no opposition, unless the hardy frontiersmen of Tennessee and Kentucky had undertaken on their own responsibility to drive the French out of the country. Jefferson's plan, in case New Orleans was occupied by the French, was to postpone any attempt to oust the unwelcome invader until the national debt had been substantially reduced and until the Mississippi Valley was filled with fighting men.

Fortunately he was not obliged to resort to this Fabian policy, but could contemplate with satisfaction the out-

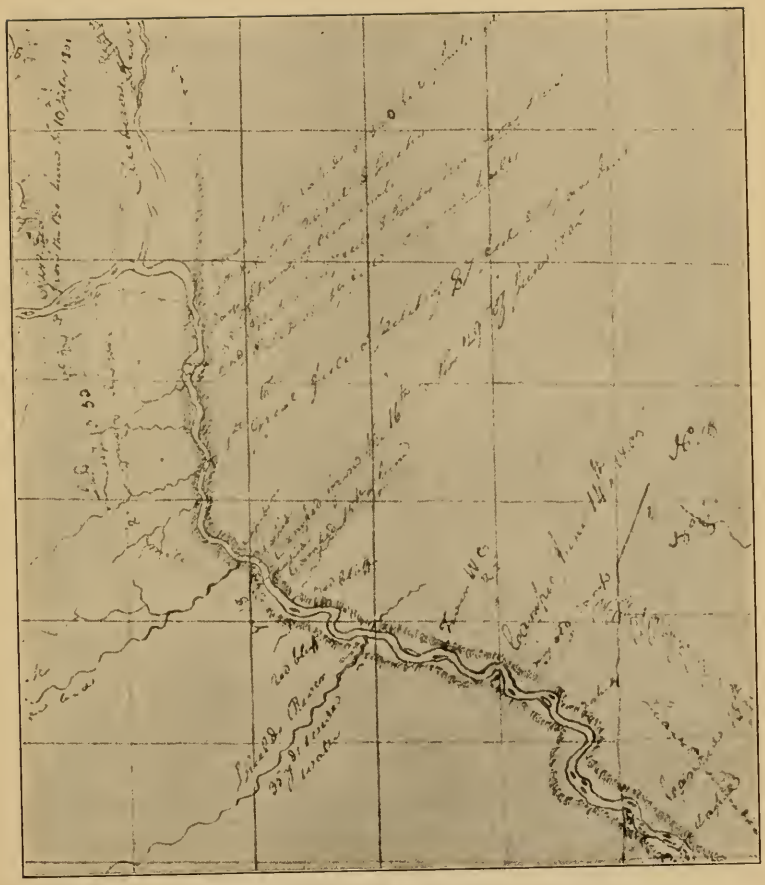
come of his first venture in international statecraft. The emergency through which he had passed had been a somewhat rude awakening from the optimistic dream under the soothing influence of which he had entered upon the task of governing. Refined in his tastes, delighting in an intellectual life of science and art, sanguine by temperament, he was a theorist who aspired to be the leader in a new era of peace and happiness which, his imagination told him, was about to dawn upon the world. "Political philanthropists" is the felicitous phrase by which Henry Adams characterizes Jefferson and his two associates, Madison and Gallatin, an "aristocratic triumvirate" who, incongruously enough, found themselves at the head of the American democracy.

Under the influence of this democracy just come into power, class privileges gradually disappeared, the right to vote was made by the states to rest upon a basis of manhood alone, and the courts with increasing frequency upheld the rights of the individual as against the authority of the federal government. At the head of the Supreme Court of the United States, appointed to that exalted post by President Adams just before his term of office expired, was John Marshall, the great Virginia jurist, whose dislike and distrust of Jefferson were as profoundly felt as they were frankly expressed, and it was upon this great Federalist Chief Justice that a large part of the task was to fall of reconciling democracy and nationality.

The purchase in 1803 of Louisiana from Napoleon, contrary though it was to the policy and traditions of his party, was by far the most noteworthy act of Jefferson's two administrations. At a stroke it more than doubled the area

of the United States and gave the mid-continent a free water route for all time to the sea, enriching the nation with untold stores of mineral and agricultural wealth. For years Jefferson had been keenly alive to the prospective value of this enormous but unknown territory beyond the Mississippi. When he was a member of Washington's first cabinet his interest in scientific pursuits had led him to attempt the organization of an expedition to explore this vast land of mystery in the expectation that information of the highest value would thereby be obtained about the native races, the animals, plants and topography of the country. He even went so far as to select as the leader of the expedition Meriwether Lewis, a young Virginian of an adventurous turn of mind who possessed resolution and judgment as well as courage.

A more favorable opportunity, however, for this bold enterprise had to be awaited, and this opportunity came on the heels of the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon, when the whole country was eager with curiosity as to the distant wilderness for which the government had paid fifteen million dollars and when Jefferson himself was anxious to justify to his fellow-countrymen the expenditure of so large a sum of money for such a purpose. The President again turned to Lewis, then his private secretary, as the leader for this expedition, having secured the approval of Congress for the venture. Lewis thereupon associated with himself William Clark, to both of whom commissions respectively as captain and lieutenant in the army were given in order to impart an official character to the expedition and to place it under military discipline. As a tale of danger, hardship and adventure, the story of this expe-



SECTION OF CLARK'S MAP OF HIS ROUTE.

dition is without a parallel in the annals of American exploration. In May, 1804, Lewis and Clark left the neighborhood of St. Louis, then a struggling village which a few weeks earlier had been transferred to the United States authorities, and, with forty-five men in three boats, travelled up the Missouri River, over the Rocky Mountains, and down to the mouth of the Columbia River. Returning by nearly the same route they arrived at St. Louis in September, 1806, with the loss of only three men, one by desertion, one by disease, and one, an Indian, by being killed. The first white men to cross the continent, they brought back journals which for a hundred years have been a storehouse of information for ethnologists, naturalists and other scientific investigators.

In May, 1791, thirteen years before Lewis and Clark set out on their adventurous journey, Captain Robert Gray in command of the *Columbia*, a Boston ship of only two hundred and thirteen tons, engaged in the sea-otter trade between the northwest coast and China, had been the first to enter the mouth of the great river separating the present states of Washington and Oregon. Sailing up this broad stream a distance of twenty-five miles Captain Gray gave it the name, from that of his ship, which it has borne since then. In 1787 the same vessel had made the pioneer voyage among American merchantmen to this distant coast, the inspiration for the venture coming from the narrative of a young American seaman, John Ledyard, who had accompanied Captain Cook to this "Oregon country," as it came to be called, and who had noted in the possession of the natives an abundance of sea-otter skins which could be got in exchange for knick-knacks and sold at a

high profit in China. Captain Gray on this earlier voyage brought the *Columbia* back to Boston by way of China, where he sold his furs and purchased a cargo of tea, thus being the first American master-mariner to carry the United States flag around the world and to open the way for the valuable fur trade which John Jacob Astor developed several years later. His discovery of the Columbia River was largely the basis on which the United States established its claim to the rich Oregon country drained by its waters.

While Lewis and Clark were absent on their memorable journey, another expedition, also organized for the purpose of gathering information with reference to the new territory embraced in the Louisiana purchase,—twenty men under the command of an ambitious soldier who had fought in the Revolutionary War, Captain Zebulon Montgomery Pike,—was sent out by boat from the military headquarters, at St. Louis, of General James Wilkinson to explore the head-waters of the Mississippi. Returning after having reached Cass Lake as his furthest point, Pike at the head of another party penetrated the unknown country to the southwest, including the head-waters of the Arkansas River and the mountains of Colorado, carrying the American flag even into the disputed territory on the borders of New Spain, where he and his men were arrested and returned to the United States authorities. His official narrative of his discoveries, experiences and adventures is a fitting complement to the journals of Lewis and Clark.

Navigation on the waterways which were brought under the control of the United States by the purchase of Louisiana was made easy and commercially profitable by the

successful application, which Robert Fulton, who had financial and other support which Fitch had lacked, made in 1807 of steam-power to boats propelled by paddle-wheels. Fulton's ingenuity had been shown by his experiments with torpedoes and submarine boats in France, where he met Robert R. Livingston, the American minister. The two became warm friends, and Livingston, whose influence and purse were always at the service of genius, was of much assistance to him politically and financially. Fulton developed the paddle-wheel idea which had long lain in his mind, and, applying it to the *Clermont*, the name of which was taken from Chancellor Livingston's seat on the Hudson, drove that pioneer vessel to Albany, about one hundred and fifty miles, in thirty-two hours, making the return journey in thirty. This invention worked an immediate revolution in inland water transportation. "It will give a cheap and quick conveyance," wrote Fulton to his friend Joel Barlow, after describing the trip of the *Clermont*, "to the merchandise on the Mississippi, Missouri and other great rivers which are now laying open their treasures to the enterprise of our countrymen." Within a few years steam-boats were plying on all of these western rivers as well as on the inland waterways along the Atlantic seaboard.

Meanwhile the American merchant marine had been suffering to such an extent from the depredations of the Barbary pirates of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli that, despite his passion for peace, Jefferson had finally been obliged to send fleet after fleet to the Mediterranean in order to check their ravages on American commerce. Through the energy and activity in 1803 of Captain Preble these licensed pirates

THE "CLERMONT" IN DUPLICATE AT THE HUDSON-FULTON CELEBRATION, 1909.

were finally subdued, and were forced to sue for peace and to forego further exactions of tribute. The story of the exploits of American sailors in this curious conflict forms a brilliant page in the early history of the American navy.

A hundred and more years ago the American merchant-vessels were a large factor in the wealth of the young nation and were well worthy of government protection. The great adaptability of the New Englanders for the sea was well illustrated by the fact that at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War there were more than three hundred vessels hailing from Massachusetts ports alone engaged in whale-fishing in the north and south Atlantic. After the war this initiative and energy found new and wider channels in which to expend themselves. All the capital that was available was turned into ships and outfits, for the richest prizes to be had in those days were to be won in the ocean carrying trade.

The results were that in the year when Jefferson was elected President, 1800, the ship-owners of the United States had vessels to the amount of nearly seven hundred thousand tons engaged in the foreign trade. In the previous decade there had been a significant decrease from one hundred and fifteen thousand to forty thousand in the tonnage of the British shipping entering and clearing from American ports; vessels owned in the United States were carrying freights heretofore taken by British ships. By 1807 the tonnage of American ships had increased to eight hundred and forty thousand, and, ignoring the temporarily depressing effect of the embargo, which will be discussed among the causes of the War of 1812, the United States in 1810 had a total of nine hundred and eighty-four thousand tons of shipping

registered for the foreign trade. In the same year, moreover, there were new ships of a total of one hundred and twenty-seven thousand tons built in the United States, and ninety-one and a half per cent of all American exports and imports were carried in American vessels. Allowing an average of one hundred and seventy-five tons to a vessel—the average, according to the records of the Department of Commerce and Labor, was one hundred and eighty-three tons in 1813 and one hundred and ninety-seven tons in 1823—it appears that the United States had as available for the foreign carrying trade in 1811 a fleet of not far from six thousand vessels.

The merchandise which formed the cargoes of this fleet increased in value from seventy-one million dollars in 1800 to over one hundred and eight millions in 1807, dropping to less than sixty-seven millions in 1810 as a result of the embargo and non-intercourse policy adopted by Jefferson. What, do you ask, were the cargoes which these thousands of American vessels bore from the ports of the United States? From the North chiefly lumber and food products—flour, beef, pork and dried fish; from the South, cotton, tobacco, rice, indigo, tar, pitch, turpentine, sugar and molasses, the last two articles from Louisiana. And on the return voyages they brought fabrics and hardware from England, wines and oils from the continent, tea from China, and pepper from Sumatra. The exports of cotton increased enormously under the stimulus of Whitney's invention and the high prices following the development of cotton manufacturing. In 1799, when the price varied from twenty-eight to forty-four cents a pound, nearly eighteen million pounds of this staple were exported from

the United States. Ten years later, in 1809, the price had fallen to sixteen cents and a fraction, and the volume of exports had risen to over ninety-three million pounds. By 1811 New England had eighty thousand spindles in operation in her cotton mills. The annual value, moreover, of the tobacco exported from the United States in the first six years of the century varied from five and a half to six and a half million dollars.

The population of the states had increased in the decade by nearly two millions of people, the total in 1810 being more than seven and a quarter millions. The growth was naturally largest in the border states, while the territory of Indiana contained nearly twenty-five thousand people—almost five times the number in 1800—and Illinois had a population of over twelve thousand.

XI

THE WAR OF 1812 AND ITS CAUSES

The honor which came to Jefferson in his first administration through the purchase of Louisiana was forgotten in the dishonor which his policy of "peaceable coercion" brought upon the American flag in his second administration. The reduction of the national debt occupied a far larger place in the mind of the President than the protection of the American sailor against impressment or the defense of American shipping against seizure. Indeed, Jefferson, reflecting the view of the agricultural interests which formed the mass of his party, looked with disapproval on the growth and activity of the American merchant marine. The rapid increase in the size and wealth of the cities on the seaboard also gave him concern. Unless this development were arrested there was danger, he thought, that the balance that should subsist in an ideal republic between agriculture, manufactures and commerce would be disturbed. Madison, who succeeded him, largely shared these views, and, as a consequence of this attitude on the part of the Republican administrations, the sailors and vessels of the United States were subjected to greater indignities during the decade preceding the War of 1812 than the shipping of any nation had ever suffered.

These indignities were due to two causes, first, the desire on the part of England to cripple the commerce, already grown to large proportions, of this new and upstart

nation, which threatened to drive English merchant-ships from the seven seas; and, secondly, to the necessity England felt herself to be under, in the face of Napoleon's growing power and ambition, of maintaining the efficiency of her war-vessels by keeping the complement of their crews full. In accordance with the theory which Great Britain had always held, "once a subject, always a subject," American vessels were overhauled wherever they were found, even at the entrance to the port of New York, and seamen alleged to be of British birth were forcibly taken from the crews and compelled to serve in English men-of-war. There was no redress either for the act or for the arrogance, insolence and brutality which more often than not accompanied the act. And so active were English naval officers in carrying impressment into practice that by 1807 there were no fewer than six thousand American seamen who were serving against their will in the British fleet and whose cases had been reported to the State Department at Washington. How many similar instances were unreported to a government which gave its impressed sailors no help will never be known.

On the other hand, Great Britain's contention was that, if the federal or local authorities in the United States lacked the power or the disposition to assist the naval officers or the merchant captains of her vessels in recovering the sailors who deserted by the score whenever a British vessel touched at an American port, she was justified in searching American merchantmen, and even American war-vessels, in order to recover these deserters. Owing to the alluring opportunities held out by the American merchant service, these desertions had become so numerous as really to alarm

the English government lest the efficiency of England's fighting force in the navy should be impaired. In the perspective of a hundred years, moreover, it is possible to understand the unwillingness of England, independent of her theory of allegiance, to recognize as valid American citizenship papers which, according to Henry Adams, "were issued in any required quantity and were transferred for a few dollars from hand to hand." An English naval officer, having the power to enforce his will, was thus at liberty to treat as fraudulent the citizenship papers of as many sailors on an American merchantman as he needed in order to fill the complement of his crew, and out of the gross abuse of this power, often exercised in a needlessly irritating and humiliating manner, grew a condition of affairs that became more and more difficult to bear every year.

American shipping meanwhile was suffering severely from seizures and confiscations for which there was no redress, being ground ruthlessly between the upper and the nether millstones of British commercial avarice and Napoleon's greed for war funds. Without warning, the British courts suddenly reversed their ruling by which breaking bulk and reshipping in an American port had made a neutral cargo safe from capture, and the result was that more than a hundred vessels flying the United States flag were taken as prizes by English cruisers into the home or colonial ports of Great Britain. The embargo, putting an end to foreign commerce, which went into operation late in 1807 and by which Jefferson hoped to starve England into a cessation of this persecution, left American ships idle at their wharves, while their owners and sailing masters were reviling the "southern oligarchy" controlling the adminis-

tration for its incompetence. The effect of the embargo was seen in the decrease in the value of exports from the United States from $49,000,000 in 1807 to $9,000,000 in 1808.

Some relief came to the harassed shipping interests in 1809, when Madison succeeded Jefferson as President, through the substitution of the Non-intercourse law, forbidding trade with Great Britain and France, for the embargo which had utterly failed of its purpose and had bitterly incensed the commercial states against the administration. This relief was short-lived, however, for of the entire fleet of American merchant-vessels which in the first year of Madison's administration were induced to set sail, in the mistaken belief that continental ports were at last open to their cargoes, very few returned. From the ports of Italy to those of Norway American vessels to the number of fully two hundred, and worth, with their cargoes, many millions of dollars, were confiscated and sold by the orders of Napoleon, ostensibly in retaliation for the Non-intercourse act, but really in order to supply him with much-needed funds.

British aggressions continued, despite the ominous note of a deeper and wider feeling of popular resentment which appeared in several measures adopted by Congress. The vacillation and fear heretofore inspired by the overwhelming size and power of the British fleet and the British armies were giving way to a wrath which made war inevitable, let the consequences be what they might. The presence of several new men, young and ardent, in Congress, conspicuous among whom were Clay and Calhoun, and Madison's desire for a re-election, were also factors which made for war. Finally, in June, 1812, war was declared,

THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE "CONSTITUTION"

Escaping in a calm from a British squadron off the capes of the Chesapeake, July, 1812. From a painting by Carlton T. Chapman.

the large majority of the votes in Congress in favor of hostilities coming from south of the Delaware River. Despite impressments and seizures the New England states were violently opposed to any war and especially to a war with their best customer, England, so slight had been the growth, in the feverish and all-absorbing commercial activity of the past decade, of the idea of nationality.

The administration placed its chief reliance upon the state militia, with which it was proposed to invade Canada, and upon the distress in England and in the British colonies which would follow the cutting off of the food supply from America. Little was expected from the half-dozen or so frigates, with eight or ten smaller warships, of the American navy, in view of the force of a hundred war-vessels which Great Britain kept on the American station, out of her available fleet of more than a thousand sail.

When, however, on a day in midsummer the United States frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull, arrived at Boston with two hundred and sixty-seven prisoners from the British frigate *Guerrière* which she had dismasted, captured and blown up, there was great rejoicing, even in Federalist New England, where the conflict was even then contemptuously referred to as "Mr. Madison's war." Something, it was felt, had at last been done to avenge the insult involved in the attack, five years earlier, of the *Leopard* upon the *Chesapeake* and to restore a little of the national self-respect. Before the end of the year two other British frigates, the *Macedonian* and the *Java*, had been captured or destroyed, the former by the *United States* and the latter by the *Constitution*, while two fights between smaller vessels had resulted in American victories. In

1813 the contests resulted more evenly, each side losing three vessels in single ship fights, the capture of the *Chesapeake* by the British frigate *Shannon* being a severe blow to American pride in its newly-discovered sea-power, as was also the loss in Valparaiso harbor in 1814 of the American ship *Essex* to the British frigate *Phœbe*. The greatly superior number of the British vessels resulted, after the first year or so of the war, in the capture or blockading of all the American frigates.

Colonel Roosevelt in his *Naval War of 1812* says that the two things which contributed to the American victories were, first, the excellent make and armament of the ships, and, second, the skilful seamanship, excellent discipline and superb gunnery of the men who were in them. A not inconsiderable factor also in bringing about the American victories was the careless over-confidence with which these seasoned British sailors of many hard-fought European campaigns entered upon what seemed like the holiday task of teaching the despised Yankees a few fundamental principles of naval warfare. In several engagements the British vessels were somewhat overmatched in men and in armament, but not to such an extent as to explain the great disparity in losses due to the marked superiority of the American gunners. In the fight in which the conditions were most nearly equal, between the American eighteen-gun ship-sloop *Wasp* and the British eighteen-gun brig-sloop *Frolic*, the latter lost both of her masts and ninety killed and wounded out of a crew of one hundred and ten, her hull being riddled. The American loss was only ten men killed and wounded in a crew of one hundred and thirty-five. The battle was fought in a heavy sea, and while most of the

British shots, fired when the ship was on the crests of the waves, went wide or did little damage to the rigging, the Americans fired as they had been taught, on the downward roll of their vessel, their shots doing frightful execution.

Meanwhile, the "invasion of Canada" had turned out a fiasco. Hull's disgraceful surrender to Brock gave Detroit and Michigan to the British who threatened even Ohio. They were forced back into Canada, however, by the brilliant naval victory of Perry's improvised squadron on Lake Erie, while Macdonough's signal victory in a somewhat similar battle on Lake Champlain compelled an army of British veterans, released for service in America by the fall of Napoleon, to turn back. Another British force, landing from Chesapeake Bay, marched to Washington and burned several of the public buildings. The scene of the final land battle of the war, which was fought in January, 1815, several weeks after the treaty of peace had been signed, but before the news had arrived in America, was south of New Orleans where Andrew Jackson, with his Tennessee and Mississippi riflemen, protected by breastworks, shot down the British regulars by the hundreds as they advanced in close formation time and again over open ground, showing thereby that they had learned nothing from the experience of their predecessors at Bunker Hill. The British loss in killed and wounded was over three thousand in an attacking force of about eight thousand veterans; the American loss was insignificant.

Peace had been brought about by a variety of influences—the downfall of Napoleon and the weariness of the English people after their long series of fierce wars; the high prices of food, flour selling for fifty-eight dollars a barrel in London

in 1813; and, finally, the ravages of American privateers on British commerce. A strong argument could be framed to show that it was chiefly economic distress which finally brought England to terms, and that this distress was mainly caused by American privateers. When war was declared there were fully forty thousand men in the American merchant marine. Within sixty days no fewer than one hundred and fifty swift, heavily sparred vessels, manned and armed as privateers, left American ports to prey on British commerce in the north Atlantic. These were followed by others until there were more than five hundred American privateers, carrying nearly three thousand guns, taking part in the war. The value of the thirteen hundred vessels, with their cargoes, which these privateers captured, is estimated at thirty-nine million dollars —about six times the value of the British ships and cargoes which the vessels of the American navy captured in the same period. These privateers were manned by as skilful, hardy and resourceful a race of sailors as ever lived—men in whom courage and self-reliance had been developed to a high degree by the fact that for years, with little or no protection from their government, they had been obliged to defend themselves in uncharted waters against Malay pirates, Spanish buccaneers, and Barbary corsairs, and to save themselves by flight from English and French cruisers. It was notorious that a crew of twenty of them on an American ship, owing to the mechanical devices which their ingenuity and resourcefulness were constantly inventing, could do the work more easily than a crew of thirty English sailors on a British ship of the same size. The damage they inflicted on British commerce was enormous.

One of the incidental results, finally, of the war was the annihilation of the Federalists as a party, in consequence of the suspicion of treason and of a conspiracy to secede from the federal Union which the Republicans forever after attached to those who had taken part in the Hartford Convention of 1814. While there undoubtedly was sentiment in the commercial centres of New England in favor of secession, with a disposition to seek the protection of England, the proceedings of the convention merely voiced the Federalist irritation under continued Virginia domination in the government, and the feeling that the commercial interests of New England were being sacrificed by this domination.

XII

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The period from 1820 to 1860 was marked by four important aspects of the life of the American people which will be treated in this and the three following chapters. These aspects reveal the development, in a remarkable manner, of the mechanical ingenuity and the industrial activity of the people, the expansion of American commerce until it reached its high-water mark, the full efflorescence in poetry, fiction, essays and history of American literature, and the divergence of the North and the South over the question of slavery, culminating in the Civil War.

The tide of migration from the seaboard states, especially in the North, to the rich lands in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, which had been checked by the War of 1812, began to flow again as soon as peace was made. So inadequate were the means of transportation and so formidable was the barrier presented by the Alleghany Mountains that the problem of connecting the East and the West, for political as well as for economic reasons, engrossed the attention of the ablest minds of the day. Three solutions of the problem were found—in the construction by the federal government of the national road from Cumberland, Md., to the Ohio; in the building by the states, with assistance from the federal government, of turnpikes over the mountains and through the gaps, and finally in the Erie Canal which, completed in 1825, made a water route from the Hudson

to the Lakes. As fast as these lines of communication were opened they were crowded. The stage rates over the Cumberland Road were five and six dollars a hundredweight from Philadelphia or Baltimore to the Ohio, passengers as well as freight being charged by weight. In 1820 there were fully three thousand wagons engaged in the business of transporting merchandise between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh over the turnpikes which the state had built across the mountains. From the outset the Erie Canal brought prosperity to the state of New York, establishing the commercial supremacy of the city of New York, where the value of the real and personal property rose from about seventy million dollars in 1820 to one hundred and twenty-five millions in 1830, and doubling the value of lands and farm products in the western part of the state.

With this great artificial waterway in such successful operation that the tolls in 1830 amounted to more than a million dollars, and in view of the earlier demonstration of the commercial practicability as a coal-carrier between the Pennsylvania mines and New York City of the Delaware and Hudson Canal, it was inevitable that canals should multiply rapidly. From 1830 to 1840 nearly a hundred million dollars were spent by the states, with some aid from the federal government, on various canal systems, mainly in New York and Pennsylvania, including four lines across the Alleghany Mountains. Ohio also built a system of canals which became tributary to the Erie Canal, and many years later Lake Michigan and the Illinois River were connected by a canal.

While the plans for these elaborate systems of canals were being carried out no one imagined for a moment that

ERIE CANAL AND AQUEDUCT OVER THE MOHAWK RIVER AT REXFORD FLATS, N. Y.

the locomotive engine and railroads were soon to revolutionize transportation. Yet the Erie Canal had been in operation only four years when the first locomotive engine, of which the Englishman, George Stephenson, had been the inventor, was brought to the United States and served as a model for the early American engines. The first railroad, built in 1830 and fifteen miles in length, connected Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills. The first railroad in New York state, built in 1831, connected Albany and Schenectady; the first in Massachusetts, built in 1835, connected Boston and Lowell, and the first in Kentucky, built in the same year, connected Lexington and Frankfort. By the end of the decade there were more than twenty-eight hundred miles of railroad in use. By 1850 this mileage had increased to nine thousand, and by 1860 to nearly thirty-one thousand. Meanwhile works for the manufacture of locomotive engines and cars had been established in Philadelphia and elsewhere by Mathias Baldwin and others, and coal from the Pennsylvania mines had come into general use to generate motive power for locomotive engines and mills.

As a result of the strong westward current of migration, at first over the turnpikes and by canals, and later by way of the railroads, the population of the great states of the West and Southwest grew with marvellous rapidity. Ohio, which contained somewhat more than half a million people in 1820, had nine hundred thousand in 1830, a million and a half in 1840 and two and a third millions by 1860. Indiana leaped from 147,000 in 1820 to 686,000 in 1840 and to double these figures in 1860. In the decade from 1820 to 1830 Illinois trebled her population of fifty-five thousand.

PETER COOPER'S WORKING MODEL FOR A LOCOMOTIVE ENGINE,
"TOM THUMB."

First used between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills, August 28, 1830.
By courtesy of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company.

By 1840 there were in the state not far from half a million people; by 1850 there were 851,000, and by 1860 twice as many—1,711,000. Chicago, which was surveyed as a town in 1830, when there were only twelve families in the place besides the garrison, had acquired a population of about forty-five hundred in 1840. By 1850 this number had grown to thirty thousand, and by 1860, when the city had become the most important railroad centre in the West, to considerably over a hundred thousand. The Southwest too shared this remarkable growth. St. Louis, which contained about forty-six hundred people in 1820, had more than sixteen thousand in 1840 and one hundred and sixty thousand in 1860. The centre of population meanwhile was moving westward at the rate of from forty to sixty miles in each decade, on or near the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude. In 1820 this centre was just west of the state line now separating Virginia and West Virginia. In the decade from 1850 to 1860, however, it moved out of West Virginia and into southern Ohio, to a point almost due south of Columbus.

In the early part of this period the migratory movement was made up almost wholly of Americans leaving the East for the more promising West, where land was cheap and the soil was rich. Later, however, in the 'forties and 'fifties, there was a large and important admixture of foreign immigrants who went to swell the human tide flowing across the Alleghanies. The quality of this immigration was of the best—English, Scotch, Irish, German and Scandinavian. The volume became greatest when the famine in Ireland in 1846 and the revolution of 1848 in Germany drove hundreds of thousands of peasants and mechanics

THE TOWN OF CHICAGO IN 1831.
From an English lithograph.

across the ocean. In 1831 the arriving immigrants numbered less than twenty-three thousand. By 1842, however, drawn by the alluring prospects which the newly-opened lands of the West held out, they numbered for the first time more than a hundred thousand. A few years later the stream became what was for those years a torrent, the number arriving in 1846 being 154,416; in 1847, 234,968; and in 1850, 310,004. In 1854 the high-water mark for this period was reached—427,853, after which there was a recession which became more marked during the Civil War. In the decade from 1845 to 1855 more than a million and a quarter Irish immigrants came to America. The total number of immigrants arriving from 1821 to 1850, inclusive, was considerably over five millions. Ninety-five per cent of these millions of foreigners made homes for themselves in the North and in the West, instinctively avoiding the states in which slave labor prevailed. Knowing nothing of state rights or sectional jealousies, but recognizing America only as the nation that offered them political and religious liberty and a living, they naturally gave their support to the Union in the conflict that arose soon after the large majority of them arrived in America. It remains only to add that the total population of the United States, which was somewhat more than nine and a half millions in 1820, had grown to nearly thirty-one and a half millions in 1860.

These great movements of population, with the increased demand which they created for commodities and facilities of all kinds, were an enormous stimulus to the inventive faculty and mechanical ingenuity of the people. Thus gas began to be manufactured and distributed in Baltimore in 1821 and was in general use in the larger cities by the end

of the decade. The important newspapers began to be printed on cylinder presses. Cyrus Hall McCormick, a Virginian who later made Chicago his home, constructed a reaping machine in 1831, the first of a series of inventions that made farming on a large scale possible. In 1820 the total output of anthracite coal in the Lehigh Valley mines was three hundred and sixty-five tons; ten years later the demand had increased to such an extent that one hundred and seventy-five thousand tons were mined. A decade and a half later two inventions were perfected which exerted a wide influence on the commercial and the domestic life of the people—the telegraph in 1844 by Professor S. F. B. Morse and the sewing-machine, a year later, by Elias Howe, both of these men being natives of Massachusetts.

Additions, wide in extent and of incalculable value, were made to the area of the national domain in this memorable epoch, and many new states were admitted to the federal Union. As a result of General Jackson's successful campaign against the Seminole Indians in 1818, the Floridas were purchased from Spain for five million dollars. The revolution in 1835, by which the Texans won their independence from Mexico, was followed ten years later, under the Polk administration, by war between the United States and Mexico, whose territorial possessions to the north, extensive in area, but ill-defined and poorly defended, lay across the natural pathway westward of the restless, pushing people of the southwestern states, and formed a prize upon which the slave power was especially eager to lay its hands. The American troops under General Zachary Taylor and General Winfield Scott being successful at every point in this war of territorial aggrandizement, Mexico, in

making peace in 1848, was forced to cede to the United States, for a consideration of eighteen million dollars, the vast territory, half a million square miles in extent, consisting of Nevada, Utah, the greater part of Arizona and the western portions of Colorado and New Mexico. California was also included in the ceded territory, although a year or two earlier the American pioneers in that region, under the leadership of Lieutenant John C. Frémont, who was in charge of a government exploring expedition, and with the co-operation of one or two vessels of the United States navy, had proclaimed and had won the independence of California from the Mexican authorities.

In the same year that peace was made, 1848, gold was discovered in California, and by the end of 1849 there were fully a hundred thousand gold-seekers in this new Eldorado —men who had come overland by the Santa Fé and other transcontinental trails, across the Isthmus of Panama, or around Cape Horn in sailing-vessels. In the decade from 1850 to 1859 they and those who followed them mined gold to the value of more than fifty million dollars. The admittance of Texas alone to the federal Union added to the United States more than the equivalent of the combined areas of France, England, Scotland and Ireland, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland—three hundred and seventy thousand square miles. And at about the same time, 1846, the boundary of the Oregon country, which had been jointly occupied by the United States and England, was defined, so that by the end of this decade the limits of the United States proper were practically determined as they exist to-day.

Meanwhile, in consequence of the expansion westward

of the population and of the large volume of foreign immigration, new states were rapidly received into the federal Union, the balance of political power being preserved by the admittance of an equal number of southern and northern states. Louisiana having become a state on the eve of the War of 1812, half a dozen other states qualified and were admitted in the stirring years immediately following the war—Indiana in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820 and Missouri in 1821. Arkansas and Michigan came into the Union in 1836 and 1837 respectively. In the next decade a new group of states qualified, three of them in consequence of the extension of the national boundary—Florida and Texas in 1845 and California in 1850, while Iowa, admitted in 1846, and Wisconsin, in 1848, testified to the rapidity with which the northwest was being peopled.

With the remarkable increase of population in nearly all parts of the country, industries multiplied and the demand from the manufacturers of the North for higher duties became more and more insistent. The half-dozen or more tariff bills that became laws between 1816 and 1846 reflected, first, the growth, in response to this demand, of the protectionist idea until it culminated in the act of 1832 in which the theory of protection was elaborated and systematized in a practical form; and, second, the reaction, as a result of the discontent and financial distress in the South, toward lower duties, modified protection, and, finally, a tariff for revenue only, with all forms of protection eliminated. Andrew Jackson, whose two terms of office as President extended from 1829 to 1837, was the representative of the new Democracy of the agricultural South, with its

opposition to high tariffs and internal improvements at the expense of the nation, which formed the platform of the Clay-Adams wing of the party in the North. Out of this divergence grew the modern Democratic party and the Whigs and their successors, the Republicans.

The old South, Virginia, Georgia and the Carolinas, had not shared in the prosperity of the North and attributed its decline in wealth and in influence to the operation of the protective tariff. The real causes were to be found in the shifting of the centre of cotton culture from the outworn fields of the old South to the richer uplands of the Gulf states; in the loss of white population due to this south-westward movement, and in the system of plantation life and of slave labor which was the barrier that prevented immigrants from seeking homes in the South. When the Gulf states, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, began to raise cotton on their fertile uplands, the total production increased year by year to such an extent as to send the export price, sixteen and a half cents a pound in 1821, down to nine cents in 1830. Meanwhile many additional mills were building in New England, the products of whose cotton factories rose in value from two and a half million dollars in 1820 to fifteen and a half millions in 1831, while the value of the woollen products increased in the same period from less than one to more than eleven million dollars.

The financial depression in the South, which was thus due to special causes and which embarrassed, in their well-earned retirement, even those leaders of the old Republican party, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, was followed in 1837 by a panic of general scope caused by over-speculation

in government lands, by extravagance, state and national, in canal and road building, and by the lack of any banking system adequate to care properly for the greatly increased business of the country. Jackson, unable to use its offices as rewards for party services, had driven the United States Bank out of business by withdrawing from it the government deposits; and in this emergency the imperfectly organized state banks undertook to finance the public as well as the private enterprises of the day. When, however, the government decided that payment for government lands must be made in gold and silver, the unstable foundations on which these state banks rested crumbled and precipitated a crash. It was several years before the country worked its way out of the financial chaos that followed.

By far the most important international incident of these years was the enunciation by President Monroe in 1823 of the broad general principle, to which later the name of the Monroe Doctrine was given, that the United States would regard as inimical to its interests any armed interference of a foreign power in the political or territorial affairs of a state in North or South America. This declaration became necessary because of the fear lest the reactionary Holy Alliance formed by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, might attempt to aid Spain in recovering the control of her revolted American colonies. The adoption of this policy was a warning also against further colonization as well as against any attempt that might be contemplated to substitute, in this or that instance, a monarchical for a republican form of government. The re-enunciation of this doctrine of non-interference seventy years later by President Cleveland, in the Venezuela boundary case, went

far to establish it as the cardinal principle of the foreign policy of the United States.

Although the treaty ending the War of 1812 had left in the air the question of the impressment of American seamen, there was no further friction from this cause. Impressment was a practice which became obsolete from the moment when the *Constitution* poured her first broadside into the *Guerrière*.

XIII

HIGH TIDE OF AMERICAN COMMERCE

The remarkable growth throughout the United States from 1820 to 1860 of population, facilities for transportation and industries of all varieties had its counterpart during the same period in the phenomenal development and world-wide activity of American shipping interests. Only temporarily held in check by the War of 1812, the daring enterprise of American merchants and of American seamen, which had been so conspicuously displayed from 1800 to 1810, sprang into life with fresh vigor as soon as peace was made. Again the shipyards along the New England coast became centres of active industry. So abundant were the supplies of suitable timber that ships could be built in New England at a saving of fully one-fifth over the cost in old England. So tough and so well seasoned were the woods which these experienced shipbuilders used and so superior was their workmanship that many of these vessels were in active service twenty and even thirty years, although the normal life of a merchant-vessel engaged in the ocean carrying trade was supposed to be only fifteen. So able to carry sail were these carefully and stoutly built ships and barks and so efficient were their sailing masters and their smaller crews in getting the utmost speed out of them that they habitually made four voyages while British and Dutch merchantmen of practically like tonnage were making three between the same ports. So high, indeed,

was the reputation of these vessels that in the twenty-five years following the War of 1812 no fewer than three hundred and forty thousand tons of American-built shipping were sold to foreigners—probably more than a thousand vessels.

Only a brief reference can be made here to some of the more important aspects of the wonderfully varied maritime life, always dignified and impressive and often tinged with romance and picturesqueness, which grew out of these conditions. The first step in the evolutionary process was the establishment, in 1816 and in the years following, of several sailing packet lines for the carriage, between American and European ports, of passengers and of high-class freights. These packets, all of which were of American build, thus met the need of a larger and somewhat faster type of vessel, with better accommodations for passengers than the merchantmen of that day could supply, and with regular days for sailing. They were built with hulls of unusual strength and with moderate spars and canvas, being thus especially adapted to meet the boisterous weather of the north Atlantic. The service drew to its ranks the best seamen of the American merchant marine, who were justly proud of their ships and of their records, the rivalry between the different lines being keen. Up to 1830 the packets were more celebrated for the comparative comfort which they offered to passengers than for their speed. After that date, however, the rivalry of the different lines produced a faster type of vessel, approaching the clippers of a later period.

These Yankee packets were the precursors of the wooden side-wheel transatlantic steamships and were of the highest

PACKET-SHIP "MONTEZUMA," OF 1,070 TONS, OF THE BLACK BALL LINE.
Built at New York by Webb & Allen. From Clark's *The Clipper Ship Era*, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

value in the development of American commerce. Their popularity and their prosperity were great. For years they formed the principal channel through which the enormous stream of immigration flowed to America. One vessel of the Black Ball packet line had a record, during her long life of twenty-nine years, of one hundred and sixteen round passages between New York and Liverpool. In that time, and without the loss of a seaman, a sail or a spar, she had brought thirty thousand immigrants to America, no fewer than fifteen hundred births and two hundred marriages having taken place among her passengers.

In this memorable decade from 1821 to 1830 the annual value of the total American exports and imports, excluding gold and silver, averaged about $142,400,000, and over ninety per cent of all this merchandise was carried in American vessels, a record excelled only in the year 1810, and then only slightly, at the culmination of the almost equally prosperous epoch preceding the War of 1812. It was not surprising, therefore, that the London *Times*, in May, 1827, sounded a note of alarm in these words: "We have closed the West Indies against America from feelings of commercial rivalry. Its active seamen have already engrossed an important branch of our carrying trade to the Eastern Indies. Her starred flag is now conspicuous on every sea and will soon defy our thunder."

Shut out by this policy from trade with British West Indian ports, American merchants had been forced more and more to seek other and more distant markets for their wares and for return cargoes. Vessels from the port of Salem were, as ever, the leaders in this trade with Africa,

South America, China, India, and the islands of the Far East. Not infrequently, it must be admitted, their outgoing cargoes, especially those for the coast of Africa, were largely composed of New England rum, gunpowder, and tobacco. But they brought back freights that filled the air of the old Puritan town with the fragrance of far-distant lands and gave wealth and influence to their owners. And this rich and profitable commerce was developed and carried on for years in vessels of rarely more than three hundred tons.

Among the hardiest and most venturesome of these seamen who were carrying the "starred flag" into every sea were the New England whalemen. From small beginnings in 1816, when only four or five whaling vessels remained of the large fleet of earlier years, the industry increased steadily, the possibility of quick and big profits proving to be highly attractive to both capital and men. By 1845 the tonnage of American vessels engaged in whaling had grown to about 191,000, figures that were surpassed only in 1858 when the tonnage was 198,594. The centres of this important industry were New Bedford and Nantucket, and the years in which the greatest profits were secured were from 1830 to 1840. Sperm-whales, the most valuable species, were sought in the temperate and tropic waters of the Atlantic and Pacific. Right or bowhead whales, from which whalebone and an inferior quality of oil were procured, were found in the north and south polar seas. From voyages of from one to four years the more successful of these whalers brought back catches varying in value from forty to one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. The risks were so great, however, that in their most prosperous years fully

one-third of the whalers made unprofitable voyages, while by 1858 only one out of every three of the sixty-eight whalers arriving at New Bedford and Fairhaven more than paid expenses, these two communities losing fully a million dollars in this disastrous season.

The decline in the whaling industry had thus set in many years before 1859 when petroleum was discovered in Pennsylvania and cannot be attributed to this cause or to the Civil War. The real causes were the growing scarcity of whales, the greatly increased cost of fitting out whaling vessels and of conducting the industry, the superior attractions which manufactures offered to capital, and the deterioration in the character of the crews, ship-owners being obliged to accept Portuguese, negroes, and even Sandwich Islanders, in place of the farmers' sons from northern New England who for a quarter of a century had been a most valuable source of supply.

By far the most important incident of this period, however, was the successful application of steam-power to side-wheel, wooden-hull vessels in the transatlantic service. Two English-built steamships, one of which crossed the Atlantic in fourteen days, proved, in 1838, the practicability of this type of vessel for this service and prepared the way for the British ultimately to displace the Yankee packet. With the assurance of a generous mail subsidy from the British government, Samuel Cunard and his associates built four steamships of moderate size and power, with wooden hulls and side wheels, which, in 1840, began a regular service between Liverpool and Boston.

From this small beginning developed the subsidized British steamship lines which gradually extended in all

directions. Five years passed before the Congress of the United States met this challenge by voting mail subsidies to American steamships. With this stimulus and with the further encouragement of another law to the same end enacted in 1847, Edward K. Collins established a steamship line between New York and Liverpool which included four fine wooden, side-wheel vessels of nearly three thousand tons each, built from designs by George Steers, who also drew the plans from which the famous schooner-yacht *America* was built. The screw propeller, which Ericsson, a Swedish engineer of originality and ability, had invented, was slow in coming into use, marine engineers and shipbuilders believing for years that paddle-wheels were more practicable and more powerful than propellers. Ericsson came to the United States from England in 1839, and two years later he had prepared for the government designs for the *Princeton*, the first warship to have a screw propeller below the water-line, out of reach of the enemy's shot.

In 1851 the tonnage of British and American steamships registered for the deep-sea trade was practically equal—65,921 British and 62,391 American. A considerable portion of this tonnage lay in the steamships of the Pacific Mail Company. Beginning in 1848 this company built a splendid fleet of nearly thirty vessels for the Panama and California branches of their business, which, after the discovery of gold on the Pacific coast, assumed huge proportions and became very profitable. These steamships also had the benefit of a substantial mail subsidy. By 1855 the tonnage of American steamships had grown from the small beginning of 16,068 in 1848 to its maximum point prior to the Civil War, 115,045.

This memorable year, however, 1855, proved to be the turning-point in the history of the merchant marine of the United States. In that year Congress practically reversed the policy as to mail subsidies which it had adopted ten years earlier, and under which the American steamship lines for a decade had held their own very well in competition with the British subsidized lines, notwithstanding the advantage of a five years' start which the latter had enjoyed. This radical change of policy, which had the effect of cutting down materially the mail subsidy heretofore granted to the Collins line and of reducing, though less seriously, that of the Pacific Mail Company, was mainly due to the jealousy which had developed in the South, partly owing to the agitation over the question of slavery, and in the agricultural West, toward the shipping interests of the northern seaboard. To add to its other embarrassments, the Collins line in the same fateful year, 1855, lost two of its steamships, the *Arctic* and the *Pacific*. These disasters not only crippled the line severely, but, taken with the partial withdrawal of government aid and the attacks in Congress on American shipping interests, discouraged the building of new vessels of this type. In three years the registered tonnage of American steamships fell to 78,027.

In 1855 there were registered the enormous total of 2,348,358 tons of American deep-sea shipping, and so great was the demand for vessels that more than five hundred of different types, ships, barks and brigs, all designed for the ocean carrying trade, were launched from American yards. Only once later, in 1860, were these tonnage figures surpassed and then only slightly. The tonnage had more than doubled since 1846 when it was 943,307. And in the

five years from 1851 to 1855 inclusive one hundred and seventy thousand tons of American-built vessels were sold to English and other foreign buyers.

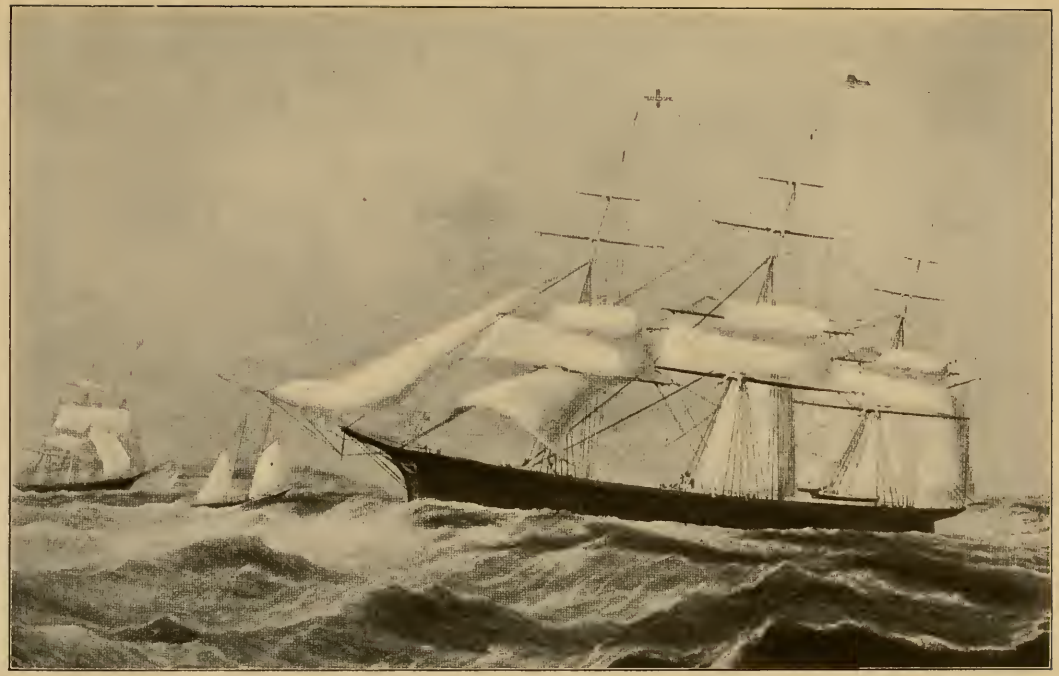
This rapid growth was due less to the wooden-hull steamships that were built in the yards along the East River at New York than to the great fleet of clippers which American merchants and American ship-builders constructed in Boston, New York and Baltimore in their endeavor to hold the ocean carrying trade and to increase it, even in competition with the subsidized lines of British steamships. These great vessels, one of which in the yards of the famous Boston builder, Donald McKay, was the inspiration for Longfellow's poem, "The Building of the Ship," varied in tonnage from a thousand to as high as twenty-four hundred. In power, beauty and speed they represented the highest point ever reached by the designers and builders of merchant vessels. The California trade, which reached huge proportions almost at a bound in 1849 and 1850, and which was restricted, under the coastwise law passed by Congress in 1817, to vessels of American registry, gave a mighty impetus for a few years to the building of this type of ship. The war in the Crimea in 1854 gave employment to many of these Yankee clippers as transports and supply ships. They became immediately also an influential factor in the commerce between the United States and the Far East.

Some of the record runs which these powerful and beautiful ships made in the hands of their bold and skilful Yankee crews seem incredible : fourteen days, for example, from New York to Portsmouth, England, where the clipper *Palestine* landed her passengers ahead of the Cunard

steamship which had sailed on the same day; ninety days from New York to San Francisco, on one of which the clipper *Flying Cloud* made three hundred and seventy-four miles; sixty-three days from Melbourne to Liverpool; eighty-four days from Canton to New York; and ninety-six days from Manila to Salem, were some of the most celebrated runs of these famous Yankee clippers.

The chief sources of the export wealth of the United States in these years when its ships were on the crest of the wave of prosperity were agricultural. During the ten years from 1851 to 1860 the products of American farms and plantations—wheat, flour, rice, hops, apples, corn and cornmeal, tobacco, cotton, potatoes, sugar raw and refined, cheese, cattle and beef and pork products—constituted on the average about eighty-two per cent of all the exports from the United States. The value of these agricultural exports increased meanwhile from nearly $147,000,000 in 1851 to more than $261,000,000 in 1860. In the larger view of this commercial epoch the total American exports to Europe grew in value from about $36,000,000 in 1821 to nearly $250,000,000 in 1860, and, to all other countries, from $19,000,000 to $84,000,000 in the same interval. These exports were, of course, paid for by the imports of hardware, silks, oils, wines, teas, coffees, spices, etc., to the United States. At the outset, in 1821, the figures balanced almost evenly. In 1860, however, the imports exceeded the exports in value by about $20,000,000.

The prosperity which the American merchant marine enjoyed between 1820 and 1860 followed the adoption by the government in 1815 of the policy of reciprocity in shipping —a policy that has not been deviated from since that date.



CLIPPER-SHIP "STAGHOUND," OF 1,535 TONS.

Built by Donald McKay at South Boston. From Clark's *The Clipper Ship Era*, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

In the early years of the nation's life and for a brief period after 1815, discriminating duties favoring American vessels were in force. These duties were laid, however, in retaliation for similar duties exacted by other nations and were justifiable for this purpose. Discrimination, however, as a means of building up a merchant marine is an acknowledged failure and has everywhere been abandoned in favor of reciprocity. The percentage of American merchandise carried in the foreign trade of American ships fell off somewhat, it is true, in the years from 1831 to 1860. The evidence, however, of the benefits of the policy of reciprocity, and of the activity and energy of American shipping interests, was to be found in the constantly increasing tonnage of ocean-going vessels flying the United States flag, a large percentage of which were engaged in the carrying trade between foreign countries, and rarely entered or cleared from an American port. Thus in the forty years from 1820 to 1860 the tonnage of United States shipping registered for the foreign trade increased fourfold, while that of the entire British Empire only doubled.

The decline in American shipping was due to various causes: to the virtual abandonment by Congress in 1855 of the policy of subsidies; to the competition of cheaply-built foreign iron steamships, which after 1843 gradually displaced the wooden ships, barks and brigs, in the building and sailing of which Americans had been supreme; to the effects of the Civil War; to the existence of the law passed in 1792 prohibiting the granting of American registry to foreign-built ships; and, finally, to broad economic causes operating to diminish the interest of the American people in the ocean carrying trade. With half a continent

to conquer, with forests to fell and farms to clear and to cultivate, with cities to build and railways to construct, with exhaustless mineral riches awaiting the miner, and with manufactures to create in order to supply the needs of their own millions, it was not unnatural that as the years passed a greater and a greater share of the energy and of the capital of the people of the United States should be diverted from the high seas to these inland sources of wealth lying so invitingly before them.

If the experience of the most enlightened nations which have developed their shipping to a high point is to be accepted as a guide, the American merchant marine can be revived only by a policy, under reciprocity, combining subsidies for the encouragement of shipbuilding, the importation, free of duty, of all materials for the construction and unrestricted use of steamships, and free ships, for the primary political advantage of displaying the American flag in foreign ports. The experts seem to be agreed that, so far as the foreign carrying trade is concerned, the advantages to be derived from free ships, under the repeal of the law of 1792, would be mainly political rather than economic, the increased expense of maintenance under the American flag more than neutralizing the saving in the initial cost of the foreign-built vessel.

The first step toward free materials for shipbuilding was taken by Congress in 1872. The advance in the same direction since then has been constant, until at the present time, under the Payne-Aldrich tariff of 1909, all materials for the construction of steamships or sailing-vessels are imported free of duty, with the single condition that vessels so constructed in whole or in part shall not engage in

the coastwise trade of the United States for more than six months in the year. When this single restriction is removed, absolute free trade in all the materials for shipbuilding will have been established.

XIV

GOLDEN AGE OF AMERICAN LETTERS

THE years from 1820 to 1860 proved to be the golden age of American letters, as well as a period of remarkable industrial energy and of extraordinary commercial activity. Although in two wars the American people had won first their political and later their commercial independence from Great Britain, even their best educated men continued to show in intellectual matters a deference to English opinion and a sensitiveness to English criticism which were the unmistakable signs of national youth and inexperience. That an American could write anything in prose or verse above the level of mediocrity was wellnigh unthinkable.

It was entirely consistent with this provincial state of mind for the editors of *The North American Review*, newly established in Boston, to suspect at first that the lines called "Thanatopsis," which young Bryant's father left with them one day, early in the summer of 1817, were of English origin, for it was incredible to them that any American could have written such a poem. The same lack of self-confidence was illustrated in the case of Cooper's first novel, *Precaution*, which grew out of his determination to write a better story of English life than the English novel which he then chanced to be reading. For, in order to win for the book the widest possible audience and at the same time to disarm the reviewers, Cooper gave to the novel not

only an English subject but the pretense of English authorship. Fifteen years later Poe was trying, in *The Southern Literary Messenger*, of which he was the editor, to check the tendency to go to the other extreme of patriotic and indiscriminate praise for every American literary production simply because it was American—a tendency which afforded even clearer proof of the national inexperience than was indicated by the inability to judge the value of a book until the English stamp of approval or disapproval had been placed upon it.

The truth was that only time, with growth and experience, could create a national self-confidence and an indifference to foreign opinion in literary affairs which should operate unconsciously. The Civil War carried the nation a long way toward this goal, but the war with Spain had to be fought before it was made plain to every one that at last the goal had been reached.

Many stimulating influences were at work, especially in New England in these early years, urging men's minds toward literary expression. Scott and Byron were in the full exercise of their great powers, and new novels and poems by them were awaited with a curiosity and read with an avidity which would be incomprehensible to the present book-surfeited generation. Men of literary taste like Irving were deeply affected by European travel and by contact with scenes "rich," as he himself notes, "in storied and poetical association." Scholars like Ticknor, Everett and Bancroft, who had passed several years in Europe and especially in Germany, where Goethe was the commanding figure in the romantic movement of the time, on returning and beginning the teaching of Greek, French,

Spanish or Belles Lettres, set in motion powerful currents of new ideas or diverted old ideas into new channels. Under the inspiring leadership of Channing Unitarianism was displacing Calvinism over a considerable area, especially in New England, "substituting the doctrine of hope for the dogma of dread." The way was thus preparing for Transcendentalism, which was to make use of all the wisdom attainable by its disciples in the effort, ardent rather than well considered, to formulate a new philosophy of idealism.

The fiction of this epoch, which may be said to have begun with the appearance, in 1819, of "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" in Irving's *Sketch-Book*, and to have reached its culmination in 1850 in Hawthorne's masterpiece, *The Scarlet Letter*, including in the interval the novels of Cooper and the tales of Poe, possessed great variety both of theme and of treatment. Irving had published in 1809 his *Knickerbocker History of New York*, the youthful vivacity and exuberant humor of which remain fresh to-day, after more than a century of life. It was, however, the favor with which his *Sketch-Book* and *Bracebridge Hall* were received, in England as well as in his native land, that determined his career, he being thus the first American author to whom the highly-prized foreign recognition was accorded. The splendor and romance of old Spain had an even greater attraction for him than historic and rural England, and found expression in his *Moorish Chronicles*, his *Alhambra* and in his biographies of Mahomet and Columbus, revealing to the hungry American imagination a world of new and undreamed-of wonder and beauty.

Cooper, after his first timid venture in *Precaution*, turned, under the inspiration of Scott's novels, to American his-

torical and romantic subjects with which he was familiar, producing rapidly first the Revolutionary story *The Spy* and then *The Pioneers* and *The Pilot*, his motive in the last named being frankly to write a story which should be truer to the real life of the sea, on which he had had abundant experience both in the merchant service and in the navy, than was Scott's *Pirate*. With these and the other novels which he published in the following decade, and especially with the Leather-Stocking tales, he captured the reading public not only of his own country but of England and the continent of Europe as well. To foreign readers he opened the door to a new and fascinating world of men, manners, customs and scenery, and no American novelist, save perhaps Mrs. Stowe, has been so widely translated or so eagerly read. His industry, moreover, was prodigious, the list of his publications in the appendix to Professor Lounsbury's life including no fewer than seventy-one titles.

Aside from his novels, of which there are more than thirty, Cooper's most important work was his *History of the United States Navy*. No little historical value, however, attaches to the novels themselves. Colonel Roosevelt in his *Naval War of 1812* refers to *Miles Wallingford*, *Home as Found* and *The Pilot* as giving a far better idea of the American seamen of the period than that to be got from any history. Despite the defects of his style which were largely due to the speed with which he produced book after book, he succeeded in holding the interest of his readers, setting against the vivid background of the forests, lakes, and hills of his native land which he knew so well, and of the sea with the varying moods of which he was equally familiar, a group of original characters—Natty Bumppo,

Long Tom Coffin, Uncas, Harvey Birch, etc.—so individual, so racy and of such universal human appeal through the manly virtues which their actions reveal, that their permanent place in American literature seems to be assured. "He knew men," says Mr. Brownell in his *American Prose Masters*, "as Lincoln knew them—which is to say, very differently from Dumas and Stevenson." Patriotic, independent, courageous, a lover of truth, his weaknesses were those of temper, not of character.

No sharper contrast could be imagined than that presented by the solid reality, on the one hand, of Cooper's backgrounds and characters, even his somewhat idealized savages, and the essential unreality, on the other, of the personages and scenes in the tales which Poe produced in the course of his brief and stormy career. These began with "A MS. Found in a Bottle," for which, in 1833, he received a prize of one hundred dollars from *The Saturday Visitor*, of Baltimore. From this time on his stories were published in various periodicals and newspapers, "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," which appeared in 1841, establishing on a firm basis his popularity, which has never waned, in Paris. These tales, some of them, like "The Fall of the House of Usher," purely imaginative, and others, like the balloon hoax, the product of the author's excursions into popular science, possessed an individuality, a quality, an atmosphere, a mood which were peculiar to their author and new to literature. They revealed Poe's mastery of technique, being polished to an exquisite finish. They gave to the short story, which had been introduced by Irving, a new and alluring form which had its effect upon European as well as upon native literature. By them their

author, proud, solitary, self-indulgent, won a unique place in American letters. Through them his constant effort was to mystify, to make the false appear to be the true, to produce theatrical effects and to create illusions which were sufficiently plausible to blind the reader, temporarily at least, to their improbability, even impossibility. And to this task he brought an eccentrically equipped mind, largely self-trained, and a veritable genius for literary form.

In comparison with Poe, Hawthorne's powers were slow in maturing. Graduated from Bowdoin in 1825, he returned to his mother's home in Salem where in solitude he passed years, meditating, brooding, writing, getting a short story published from time to time, until in 1837 the first series of his *Twice-Told Tales* was brought out in book form, the second series not appearing until 1845. Marriage, life in Concord, a brief sojourn with the Brook Farm community and, above all, contact with the world of reality during the three years from 1846 to 1849 while he was surveyor in the Salem Custom House, gave Hawthorne the experience necessary to qualify him for his highest achievement and to spur him to his utmost endeavor. In the next few years he published his most characteristic books—*The Scarlet Letter*, *The House of the Seven Gables* and *The Blithedale Romance*, the first two of which in particular testified to the strength of the Puritan strain of blood in his veins. The theme that recurs again and again in his writings of the inevitable consequences of hereditary sin came to him direct from his stern, even cruel, Puritan ancestry. He brought this idea to its highest development in *The Scarlet Letter*, the characters in which are at the same time the most real of all of his creations. Like Poe he gave atmos-

phere and color to his slightest production, imparting to it an individual quality both of substance and of form in which lies its greatest charm.

No review, however brief, of the fiction of this period would be complete which failed at least to mention two remarkable books which grew directly out of very different phases of the life of the American people—Dana's narrative of his *Two Years before the Mast*, published in 1841, a classic of the sea as the New England sailors followed it seventy-five years ago, and Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was published in March, 1852, and which sold more than three hundred thousand copies within the twelvemonth. Mrs. Stowe's famous story was forthwith translated into many foreign tongues. The British Museum contains copies of the novel in a score of different European languages, and these represent only half the tongues into which it has been translated. No book ever published in the United States, it is safe to say, has had the world-wide audience that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* won for itself.

The poetry of this period began with Bryant's "Thanatopsis," which Swinburne, writing to Stedman many years later, characterized as the most august meditation of a solitary philosopher, but in which he failed to find "the echo of a single note of song," and ended with the gay and witty society verse and college anniversary productions in which, at the opposite end of the scale, the emancipated Puritan spirit of Oliver Wendell Holmes found joyous expression. Bryant, although born in western Massachusetts and inheriting Puritan traditions, removed to New York City and became a journalist, his poetical reputation resting upon his first thin volume which contained the

lines "To a Waterfowl" as well as his "Thanatopsis." He is thus usually classed with the Knickerbocker school of Irving, Cooper and Poe, rather than with the later New Englanders.

The pulse, that is, the rhythm, of music which Swinburne found wanting in Bryant, was the distinguishing note of the poems which Poe began to publish with *Tamerlane* in 1827 and which he contributed to various periodicals or occasionally issued in book form throughout his life. His verse, with its recurring cadences and its haunting melody, wellnigh perfect technically, and pitched in the invariable minor key from which there was no modulation, illustrated repeatedly his philosophy of the art of poetry, the central idea of which was that beauty, and beauty alone, was the one quality to be attained, truth from his point of view being negligible.

The most characteristic product of Lowell's poetic talent is to be found in *The Biglow Papers*, the publication of the first series of which was begun in *The Boston Courier* in 1846. For the first time the wit and learning of a widely read scholar, who was also a man of the world and whose knowledge of human nature was profound, were brought to the service of the anti-slavery cause in verse set in the Yankee dialect, which subjected to the keenest satire and the most merciless ridicule the attitude and pretensions of the slave power, especially with reference to the war with Mexico, and the cant and hypocrisy of its northern sympathizers. Lowell's discriminating and almost equally characteristic *Fable for Critics*, following these *Biglow Papers* in 1848, emphasized his intellectual versatility and his general cleverness as a man of letters. His "Commemoration

COMMENCEMENT DAY AT HARVARD IN HOLMES'S TIME, 1825–1829.
From the frontispiece to Josiah Quincy's *History of Harvard University.*

Ode," which is universally regarded as his highest poetic achievement, belongs of course to the period following the Civil War.

Meanwhile two other New England poets, Longfellow and Whittier, had made reputations for themselves in very different fields. A native of Portland, Me., and, like Hawthorne, a graduate of Bowdoin, Longfellow, after a considerable residence abroad, the effect of which showed itself throughout his career as a poet, succeeded Ticknor as Smith Professor of French, Spanish and Belles Lettres at Harvard in 1836, and three years later published his first volume of verse, *Voices of the Night*. He was a student who found the inspiration for his poems in the historic and romantic legends of his own land and of foreign countries. Lost in these old records and in framing the pictures which they suggested to his fancy, he was comparatively unaffected by either the Transcendentalist or anti-slavery movement. His poems, although deficient in passion and fire, have a simplicity, sincerity and grace which have endeared them to a wide popular audience not only in America but in England.

Whittier was a reformer before he was a poet and naturally directed his literary energies largely to the advancement of the anti-slavery cause. His first volume of verse, *New England Legends*, appeared in 1831, and the most popular of his longer poems, *Snow-Bound*, in 1862. Born in Haverhill, Mass., in 1807, he was a thorough Quaker, through whose verse, nevertheless, the nobler traits of the Puritan character, with which he was well acquainted by observation and tradition, found full expression. He early attached himself to the anti-slavery movement under the

leadership of Garrison, and did much by his fervent verse to keep the agitation alive and to win converts to the cause.

Finally, the poems of Emerson have been happily characterized by Mr. Brownell in his *American Prose Masters* as his communion with himself, while his essays were his communication to the world.

Of the writers of history in this era, four stand out with especial distinctness—Bancroft, Prescott, Motley and Parkman, all of them graduates of Harvard. Bancroft, having acquired a decided taste for historical studies in Germany, began his *History of the United States* soon after his return to America, and published the first volume in 1834, leaving it unfinished at his death in 1891. The work contains a great quantity of first-hand information, the fruit of the author's painstaking and laborious collection of original materials. In politics Bancroft's sympathies were with the anti-Federalist and Democratic parties.

Gibbon's autobiography was one of the influences which led Prescott to devote his life to historical work, seriously handicapped as he was by partial blindness. His studies, under the guidance of his friend Ticknor, in Spanish literature, and the neglect of Spanish history by European writers, were other influences that determined his choice of subject. In 1837 he was able to publish his *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, and the immediate recognition of the importance of the work by European scholars led to the appearance of Spanish, French, German, Italian and even Russian translations. Thus encouraged Prescott wrote and in time published his *Conquest of Mexico* and *Conquest of Peru*, the captivating style of all of his books winning for them a large popular as well as a scholarly audience. His

death in 1859 left unfinished what would probably have been his greatest work, the *History of the Reign of Philip II, King of Spain*.

Meanwhile the Dutch, of whom Prescott's heroes, Charles V and Philip II, had been the chief oppressors, gave Motley his theme for his *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, which was not published, however, until 1856, when the author was past forty. The researches which formed the basis of this work and of the *History of the United Netherlands* which followed it, together with the vivid style in which they were written, were accepted as further proof both of the soundness of American historical scholarship and of the attractiveness to American writers of the heroic as well as the romantic aspects of European history. From the point of view, however, of modern historical criticism, and in the light of later discoveries, Motley's writings would probably be characterized as brilliant rather than as altogether sound.

Parkman chose the same path with an American background, after he had published his *California and Oregon Trail* in 1849 and his *Conspiracy of Pontiac* in 1851, finding in the struggle between the French and the English for the possession of the North American continent a subject full of heroic achievement and of romantic color admirably adapted to his taste and to his graphic, virile style. The more important of the volumes in this scheme appeared subsequent to the Civil War.

In the field of essays the decade from 1850 to 1860 was noteworthy. The shrewd and witty breakfast-table philosophy of Dr. Holmes gave piquancy to the pages of *The Atlantic Monthly*, the publication of which was begun in 1857 under the editorship of Lowell. Two years earlier

VIEW FROM THE ORCHARD OF EMERSON'S HOUSE AT CONCORD.

Lowell had succeeded Longfellow in the Smith Professorship at Harvard, having by foreign residence and study laid the foundation for the scholarship in the Romance languages which was to be fully revealed some years later in his brilliant, if somewhat discursive and inconclusive, essays in *Among My Books*.

Of all the literary productions, however, of this epoch, the essays of Emerson seem, through their broad scope and their universal human interest, to possess the element of permanent value to a greater degree than the writings of any other American author. In their moral elevation as well as in their intellectual seriousness the lectures delivered in the 'thirties and 'forties, out of which, with wellnigh infinite thought and labor, the essays were wrought, were the product of a long line of ministerial ancestors of the strictest Puritan faith, the hardness and coldness of Calvinism having given place, however, to the optimistic idealism of the new philosophy of transcendentalism. The truths which these essays set forth are so fundamental in character, going with unerring directness to the very roots of human nature, and are so universal in their application to all times, to all places and to all peoples, that they constitute a body of doctrine of the highest ethical and intellectual value. They are expressed, moreover, with a vividness of epithet and aptness and terseness of phrase which no American has matched.

XV

SLAVERY AND SECESSION

What were the reasons which impelled the South, between 1820 and 1860, to contend so earnestly at first for the extension of slavery and later for the vindication of the institution as an essential and necessary part of its system of civilization, declaring slavery finally to be as defensible morally as it undoubtedly was legally, under the Constitution and under the state laws? Briefly the reasons fell into three principal classes. Two of these were economic and political, intimately related each to the other. The third, not definable by an epithet, grew out of the perfectly natural feeling of resentment and anger on the part of Southerners, human nature being the same in the South as in the North, against the abolitionists for their unceasing denunciations, after 1831, of slavery as a crime against humanity and as a disgrace to the nation, and of slave-owners as shameless and immoral "traffickers in human flesh."

As early as 1820 the raising of slaves for the cotton-growers and rice-planters of the Carolinas and the Gulf states had come to be an important factor in the industrial life of Virginia and Maryland. Even Jefferson and Madison, perceiving the present, and foreseeing the great prospective, value to the border states of this traffic, became converts at this period to Clay's humanitarian theory that the extension of slavery into Missouri and over other virgin territory would be of great benefit, both morally and physi-

cally, to the slaves themselves. With each decade, as the area of the cotton fields under cultivation grew wider, the value of slaves offered for sale in the border states grew higher. In 1807 the African slave trade had been made illegal, and in 1820 it had been declared by Congress to be piracy. By 1822 the average price of slaves, which had been two hundred dollars at the end of the previous century, had risen to three hundred dollars. Eight years later these figures had been doubled, six hundred dollars being a good price. By 1840, Texas having in the interval won its independence from Mexico and offering fresh and well-nigh limitless lands to venturesome planters, the most serviceable class of cotton hands fetched a thousand dollars or more each; and in the years immediately preceding the Civil War negro women and men of the best grade as workers sold at Savannah and elsewhere as high as a thousand dollars for the former and fifteen hundred for the latter.

So urgent at this time became the demand for cheaper slave labor that appeals were made to Congress from various parts of the South to legalize the African slave trade. Southern planters, of whom Yancey, of Alabama, was a type, complained because they had to pay fifteen hundred dollars each for slaves in Virginia, when they could get them in Cuba for six hundred and on the coast of Guinea for one hundred. The profits of the business had become so enormous and public opinion was so complaisant toward infractions of the law, that slaves were brought from Africa to Cuba and even to southern ports of the United States in large numbers, New York being the principal port where these slave-traders were fitted out, just as Newport had been

the centre of the African slave trade for New England before the Revolutionary War.

Down to 1845 the best market in the South for slaves was in the cotton-growing uplands of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. After the admission of Texas into the federal Union in 1845 that state offered the best market. Under this stimulus the value of the domestic trade in slaves between the border states and the cotton-growing states developed with great rapidity. In the decade from 1850 to 1860 about two hundred thousand slaves are estimated to have been shipped from the border states to the Far South. At the lowest computation of an average price of five hundred dollars each, the value of this traffic for this period must have been at least a hundred millions of dollars, and probably amounted to much more than that sum. In his *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, representing of course the extreme northern view of the matter, says it was estimated that at the close of this decade the domestic slave trade had grown to the sale of thirty thousand slaves a year at a market value of some thirty million dollars.

The South being an agricultural region exclusively, and practically the entire revenue of southern planters being derived from the cultivation of cotton, rice, indigo and tobacco, for which negroes alone were serviceable, the labor of slaves and the trade in slaves constituted the economic foundation on which the life of the people, social, political and industrial, rested. So great indeed was the financial interest of the South in slavery that it was as natural as it was inevitable for the southern leaders of public opinion to defend the institution against all attacks and to seek in

every way to perpetuate it. There was no possible alternative open to them. And it was only a short step from this attitude to the position that slavery in itself was morally as well as legally right, and must be protected at whatever cost.

Throughout the southern states the slave-owners formed a ruling caste. Social standing and political preferment were goals to be reached by ambitious young men mainly through the ownership of slaves. Yet the number of slave-owners, even as late as the outbreak of the Civil War, was relatively small. Not more than one white family in five throughout the slave states in 1860 had a property interest in slaves. And of the total of three hundred and fifty thousand slave-owning families at this date fully seventy-seven thousand possessed only one slave apiece, while as many as two hundred thousand others owned fewer than ten slaves each. The number of families owning as many as a hundred slaves each was only twenty-three hundred in the entire South. It is probably safe to say that ten thousand slave-holding families constituted the ruling power in the social, political and industrial life of the South in 1860. And this masterful control was exercised over a total population of about twelve and a quarter millions of people, only a little less than a third of whom were slaves and two and a half millions of whom were poor whites.

So long as the South retained a commanding influence in the direction of the affairs of the federal government, the vast property interests thus represented by slavery were thought to be in safe hands. When, however, through immigration and greater industrial energy, the free states began to surpass the slave states in population and in wealth, and when, as a consequence, this control began to

be threatened, the necessity became apparent to the leaders in the South of increasing the number of slave states and in this way of securing additional representation in both houses of Congress.

These economic and political motives, which became more and more powerful in later years, were in operation, moreover, as early as 1820 to induce the South to advocate the admission to the federal Union as a slave state of Missouri, then having a population of fifty-six thousand freemen and ten thousand slaves, three-fifths of whom, it should be remembered, counted in the enumeration which served as the basis for representation in the lower house of Congress. With this accession of slave territory the South was satisfied for the time being that its interests both political and material were being properly safeguarded. As a concession to the northern opponents of the further extension of slavery the act provided that thereafter slavery should be prohibited in the Louisiana purchase north of the 36° 30′ parallel of latitude, the southern boundary of the new state. These were the terms of the famous Missouri Compromise, the adoption of which brought to an end the first act in the great drama of slavery.

With the passage of the Missouri Compromise the question of slavery was generally thought to have been settled permanently on a mutually satisfactory basis. In 1831, however, the *Liberator* made its appearance in Boston, and the abolitionists, under Garrison's uncompromising and aggressive leadership, began publicly to denounce slavery as a crime and as a disgrace to the nation, and to hold up to the scorn and contempt of the world not only the slave-owners and slave-dealers of the South, but the apologists

for slavery, of whom there were very many, in the North. The violent, vituperative, even vindictive spirit in which the abolitionists from the very start carried on their anti-slavery crusade made emancipation or any other peaceable solution of the question impossible thenceforth. In the North men as a rule had little time or disposition at this period to consider the moral aspects of slavery; they were too busy laying out towns and cities, making homes for themselves, building turnpikes, canals and railroads, and establishing great industries. They, therefore, as well as the men of the South, resented the continual agitation of this troublesome question by Garrison and his fellow-abolitionists whom they regarded for years as noisy, meddlesome fanatics, disturbers of the peace and fomenters of discord. The anti-abolition riots which occurred in numerous cities of the North expressed this sentiment in violent form, but with the usual effect of helping ultimately the cause of the agitators.

In the South the attacks of the abolitionists were received at first with amazement, then with indignation, and finally, when it came to be believed that the purpose of the agitation was to excite a servile uprising, with alarm and anger. No other results could reasonably have been anticipated from an intelligent, self-respecting, law-abiding people thus assailed. And as, with the passage of years, public opinion, from this and other causes to be referred to later, began to gain ground in the North that slavery was immoral and should be abolished, if a way could be found to this end, or at least checked in its spread, the bitterness of feeling in the South naturally grew greater and greater and expressed itself more and more freely.

Thus the breach between the two sections constantly grew wider.

As the free states continued to outstrip the slave states in population and industrial wealth, the danger threatening to undermine southern domination in the federal government and thus to imperil the institution of slavery became more and more acute. The magnitude of the issues involved in slavery and in the allied southern doctrine of state sovereignty brought new leaders into the arena, two of whom stood head and shoulders above their fellows—Calhoun, of South Carolina, in advocacy of, and Webster, of Massachusetts, in opposition to, the extension of slavery. Calhoun and his associates sought to avert this impending danger in various ways: by securing the admission of Texas as a slave state in 1845, being thwarted, however, in their plan to carve three or four new slave states from the enormous territory thus acquired; by forcing the government, a year later, into war with Mexico, in the hope and expectation that other slave states might be created from the territory which Mexico would be compelled to cede as the price of peace—a hope that was never realized; and, finally, by securing the passage in 1850 of the Fugitive Slave law. As an offset to this last-named concession to the South, California was admitted to the federal Union as a free state, such being the wishes of her people, and the trade in slaves, but not slavery itself, was prohibited in the District of Columbia. Such were the main provisions of Clay's Compromise of 1850, of which Calhoun, however, then nearing his end, was the real author.

Each of these measures which Congress passed between 1820 and 1850 was designed to give greater security to the

slave power in the nation than it had possessed before, and each of them attained this object. No one of them could have been passed by the votes of the slave states alone; the assistance of northern sympathizers was always necessary and was always forthcoming. Administration after administration, even when the President came from a free state, as was the case with Pierce and Buchanan, was so under the dominating influence of the South that northern votes for the advancement of its projects were secured without difficulty.

The turning-point in the history of slavery in the United States was reached with the passage in 1854 of the Kansas-Nebraska act. The author and successful advocate of this measure, Senator Douglas, of Illinois, a Democrat of character and ability, thought that in "squatter sovereignty" he had found a political principle which would solve the slavery problem satisfactorily to both northern Democrats and southern slave-holders, and which might, as a consequence, secure for him the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. In accordance with this principle the people of a territory were to be allowed to decide for themselves whether slavery or freedom should prevail within its borders. With the application of this principle to the territories of Kansas and Nebraska was involved the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which for thirty-four years, it will be remembered, had checked the northern progress of slavery at the 36° 30′ parallel of latitude. Thus the enormous area of territory now included in the states of Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Montana, a part of Colorado and Wyoming, was again thrown into the political arena as a prize for fierce and bitter contention

between the advocates and opponents of the extension of slavery.

The South immediately saw in the situation which the ingenuity and ambition of Douglas had created an opportunity to make Kansas, the territorial boundaries of which then extended to the Rocky Mountains, a slave state. Kansas therefore soon became literally a battle-ground between the contending forces—the pro-slavery men, on the one hand, called by the anti-slavery party, from their motley appearance and their high-handed acts, "border ruffians," who came from the adjoining slave state of Missouri, and, on the other, the emigrants who poured into the territory from the North, mainly from New England, who, with almost a fanatical hatred of slavery, were equally determined to make Kansas a free state by their very numbers.

These emigrants were the expression of a great change which had taken place in northern sentiment in the decade between the admission of Texas into the federal Union and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The abolitionists, against whom at the outset of their agitation, as has been pointed out, every one's hand had been turned, were in part responsible for this change, although their influence later became less and less, the vagaries of their leaders carrying them finally to the point of looking upon secession with complacency and of burning publicly the Constitution of the United States. Other influences had also been at work. The conviction that the war with Mexico was unjustly begun and was inspired by the slave power, finding lasting expression, as has already been noted, through Lowell in *The Biglow Papers*, had become wide-spread.

Mrs. Stowe's appealing story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had produced a profound impression throughout the North, especially among those readers whose sympathies were easily moved, notwithstanding the vehement protests of the South that the picture was overcolored, false and misleading. The operation of the Fugitive Slave law, which formed one of the main themes of Mrs. Stowe's novel, was a thorn in the side of the North causing constant irritation. The feeling, under all these influences, had gained ground steadily and had at last become deep-seated that slavery in itself was a great wrong and that its further spread must be stopped. If, as seemed to be the case, the slave states were anxious to make a test of the matter in Kansas, the North was ready to accept the challenge.

The simplicity of the issue thus presented, combined with the changed temper of the North, had the immediate effect of bringing order out of the confusion into which the slavery question had brought the Free-soil, Whig and American or Knownothing parties in the free states. The victories which the new anti-Nebraska party won were the prelude only to the organization of the Republican party, with its cardinal doctrine of opposition to the further extension of slavery. Although the Republicans failed in 1856 to elect their first candidate for the Presidency, John C. Frémont, they went on perfecting their organization in the free states and faced the slave power in Congress with a more resolute and a more confident spirit than had ever before been displayed. New men came forward to take the places of the old leaders—Seward, Sumner, Chase, Wilson, Hale, with many others—men who embodied this new spirit and who refused longer to yield to the arrogant dic-

MRS. STOWE'S HOME IN BRUNSWICK, MAINE, IN WHICH "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN" WAS WRITTEN.

tation of the slave-owners, of whom, in Pierce's administration, Jefferson Davis was looked upon as the most arrogant and the most dictatorial.

Not a few events, all of which possessed a dramatic and some of which even a tragic character, occurred during these momentous years which had the effect of fostering anti-slavery sentiment and of building up and solidifying the new Republican party: further outrages in Kansas, illustrating the desperate lengths to which its rule-or-ruin policy was carrying the pro-slavery party of Missouri; the brutal assault by Brooks upon Sumner, in the Senate Chamber in May, 1856; the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case in 1857; the joint debates between the hitherto unknown Illinois lawyer, Abraham Lincoln, and Judge Douglas, the author of the Kansas-Nebraska act and the leader of the northern wing of the Democratic party; and, finally, the foolhardy raid, in October, 1859, of John Brown and his handful of followers upon Harper's Ferry, for the purpose of freeing slaves.

The details of these events were received in the North with breathless interest and provoked wide discussion. The stories of the crimes perpetrated by the "border ruffians" against life and property as well as against the ballot in Kansas aroused amazement and indignation when told to northern audiences. The savage assault upon the senator from Massachusetts was accepted as a notification that the slave power, driven at last to the wall, was prepared to resort to physical violence in order to beat down all opposition to its imperious will. In the cold light of history the assault is found to have grown directly out of the language, unjustifiably intemperate and

even personally offensive, which Sumner a day or two previously had applied in the course of a speech to a fellow-senator, Butler, of South Carolina, a relative of Brooks. The free states, moreover, refused to accept the Dred Scott decision as the law of the land. This decision, which had given great joy to the South, denied citizenship to a slave transferred to a free territory, and confirmed his master's ownership in him as property, while incidentally declaring the Missouri Compromise of 1820 to be void, on the ground that Congress possessed no power to prohibit slavery in any territory.

This decision of the Supreme Court confirming the soundness of the position which the South had maintained for years with reference both to the status of slavery in the territories and to the obligation of Congress to protect slavery therein, came too late, however, in the controversy to exert more than an academic influence. The time had arrived when action was to take the place of further contentious discussion. John Brown embodied this feeling. His raid not unnaturally threw the South into a panic of fear lest it might be the signal for a general servile uprising. The South held the "Black Republicans" equally responsible with the abolitionists for the tragic consequences of that ill-fated expedition. The evidence failed, however, to show that Brown, as grim and fanatical a Puritan as ever followed Cromwell, had had any association with the Republican leaders. Wearied with the interminable talk of his abolitionist friends about the evils of slavery, he had decided that then was the accepted time for him to serve as the instrument of the divine will in doing what they had long preached ought to be done.

The Lincoln-Douglas debates, with the Kansas-Nebraska act and slavery in general as the theme, were of national scope and interest, although they bore directly on the local contests in Illinois for the United States Senatorship. For they had a decisive effect upon the careers of both men and upon the parties of which they were the representative leaders. It was in these debates that Lincoln revealed himself as a deep thinker and a close, powerful reasoner, who reached fundamental truths slowly, clung to them tenaciously, and expressed them with simplicity, clearness and force. It was also through these debates that Judge Douglas, more brilliant intellectually and more adroit as a politician at this stage of his career than Lincoln, was nevertheless forced, in order to placate some of his northern followers, into the adoption of a variation of his "squatter sovereignty" idea as a device for evading in the territories the full force of the Dred Scott decision. From that moment Douglas was marked for destruction by the slave-owners, who accused him of double-dealing and of betraying their interests, and who split the Democratic party in the Charleston Convention in 1860 rather than follow his leadership further. On the other hand, the prominence which these joint debates gave Lincoln was one of the chief influences leading to his nomination for the Presidency in the Chicago Convention in the same year, after it had been made clear that Seward could not win the prize.

The election of Lincoln made secession inevitable. The action of the seven slave states, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas, in withdrawing from the federal Union, one after the other, as soon

as his election as President became an assured fact, was perfectly consistent with their records and with their view of what the future had in store for them. To the southern leaders of that day, Davis, Toombs, Stephens and Benjamin among others, the supremacy of the Republican party meant that sooner or later the attempt would be made to uproot and destroy slavery. Lincoln himself had publicly declared it to be his belief that the government could not endure permanently half slave and half free. Was it not perfectly logical to suppose that Lincoln and his "Black Republican" followers, now that they were in power, would seek by some means to destroy this monstrous evil, as they regarded it, and to make the nation all free?

To the extremists of the South there seemed to be only one feasible solution of the difficult problem—secession. Several of the border states, however, notably Virginia, left the Union with great reluctance and only after it became apparent that the federal government intended to resort to armed force in order, if possible, to bring the seceding states back into the Union. A quarter of a century earlier Calhoun, more skilful in forecasting the future than he was in providing remedies with which to avert its perils, had announced with characteristic southern boldness that the institution of slavery was vitally necessary not only to the welfare but to the very existence of southern civilization, and that if the South ever had to make a choice between slavery and the Union it would unhesitatingly give up the Union. The time seemed to have arrived when this choice must be made, and Calhoun, by his elaboration, exposition and justification of the doctrine of state sovereignty, had given the South a serviceable instrument

with which to meet just such a crisis. This doctrine empowering a sovereign state to secede from the federal Union whenever what it conceived to be its rights under the Constitution were infringed or even threatened had been implanted by Calhoun so deeply and securely in the southern mind that it had become a political axiom, notwithstanding Webster's argument upholding the supreme authority of the federal power under the compact entered into by the "people of the United States." In resorting, by withdrawal from the federal Union, to this doctrine of state sovereignty and in organizing the Confederate States of America, with Jefferson Davis as President and Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President, South Carolina and her sister commonwealths were thus exercising what they honestly believed to be their Constitutional rights, in order to provide a government under which slavery might be secure from molestation.

Even under these critical conditions, however, the leaders in the seceding states did not expect war to follow. The opinion was general among them that the free states would not resort to armed coercion. The expectation was equally wide-spread that, as had always heretofore been the case, some compromise would in time be arranged by which slavery might again be saved to the South. To this end commissioners were sent to Washington, at first from South Carolina and later from the new Confederate government itself, to discuss terms upon which these independent "nations" might continue to live in peace and harmony with each other.

Despite the abject failure of these missions some of the more fiery spirits in the South continued to doubt if the

North could even be forced to fight. The attitude, moreover, of a large and influential portion of the leaders in the free states gave some ground for this contemptuous opinion. For hesitation, vacillation and timidity marked the conduct of many of the men who had been most conspicuous as molders of public opinion in the North—Greeley and Phillips among the number—not a few of whom seemed panic-stricken at the prospect of facing the legitimate consequences of their own teachings, and who were more than willing to allow the South to go her own way in peace rather than to accept the alternative of civil war. In the sharpest possible contrast, on the other hand, to this state of demoralization were the qualities which at the outset the southern leaders brought to the colossal task which they had set themselves to perform—singleness and definiteness of purpose, intelligent and effective co-operation, unlimited self-confidence, and a determination to make every sacrifice in order to achieve the end they had in view.

There was one man, however, who, amid all the turmoil of conflicting opinions that prevailed in the North during the interregnum under the bewildered Buchanan, remained at his home in Illinois, calm, serious, unperturbed by the clamor around him, watching events closely, studying public opinion, and working his way, laboriously but surely, as was his wont, to immutable conclusions founded not only upon the highest justice but upon a knowledge of human nature which was the fruit of years of contact with his fellow-men. As a result of these reflections Lincoln finally decided to thrust slavery into the background and to make the *preservation of the Union* the commanding issue before the country. This he did in his inaugural address; and at

no stage of his career did he show greater qualities of statesmanship, in the highest sense of the word, than in lifting the contest thus early to the lofty plane of national patriotism and in appealing at the outset to the universal passion throughout the North for an undivided country. By this master-stroke of statesmanship he saved several of the doubtful border states for the Union and lighted in the free states a flame of patriotic ardor which, fanned into a blaze a few weeks later by the news from Sumter, spread thenceforth with marvellous rapidity and acquired an overwhelming force.

XVI

CIVIL WAR

From first to last the dominating figure in the Civil War on the side of the North was that of Lincoln. The duty of guiding the nation safely through the momentous crisis in which it found itself had been entrusted to him by the people, and he took up the task with a masterful self-reliance which annoyed, irritated and finally angered not only his avowed enemies, but the leaders of his own party, who should have been his steadfast supporters. After the lapse of half a century no one can read the full story of those eventful four years without a feeling of wonder and amazement that Lincoln accomplished what he did in the face of the criticism, fault-finding, envy and malice to which he was subjected. What sustained him through this ordeal was his conviction that he knew the minds and hearts of the people of the North better than the politicians and editors did, and his faith that his course in each emergency as it presented itself would, sooner or later, win the approval of their common-sense and of their moral sense. The results showed that his conviction was sound and his faith justified.

The attack upon Sumter in April, 1861, found the government utterly unprepared for war. During the interregnum following the national election, Buchanan had shut his eyes resolutely against the acts of the southern leaders in his own cabinet, in Congress and throughout the South

where federal forts and arsenals were situated, and had closed his ears just as resolutely against the repeated warnings from men of judgment and authority that unless immediate steps were taken to protect the government's property it would all fall into the hands of the secessionists. Confused and appalled by the unexpected and ominous turn which affairs were taking, Buchanan was weakly content merely to mark time, his sole desire apparently being to preserve the peace until the newly-elected President could assume the reins of power. He succeeded in this object. To his pusillanimity in this emergency, however, was largely due the belief which became wide-spread in the South at this time that Northerners were cowardly at heart and that the government itself was devoid of self-respect.

In the first two years of the war the Union forces in the East were out-manœuvred and out-fought at almost every point by the Confederates. Even with superior numbers McClellan, Pope, Burnside and Hooker were no match in strategy for Joseph E. Johnston, Lee, Jackson and Stuart, operating often, but by no means always, defensively on inside lines in territory with which they were more or less familiar. The greater mobility of the Confederate troops, especially when they were led by Jackson, enabled Lee more than once to play upon the fears of the Washington administration and of the politicians for the safety of the capital, and in this way to prevent the concentration of the Union forces under McClellan, whose plans were seriously interfered with in consequence. On the side of the North the period was one of experiment after experiment by the President in the search for a commander who could win

victories and follow them up with crushing force. McClellan, yielding to his fatal habit of resting, recruiting and reorganizing his army after a battle, was finally displaced permanently when he failed, after Antietam, to overwhelm or, at least, seriously to cripple Lee before he could recross the Potomac into Virginia. Pope had already been badly beaten at the second battle of Bull Run, and the terrible disasters later of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville proved conclusively the unfitness of Burnside and Hooker, respectively, for the command of the Army of the Potomac.

Military and civilian critics of the war will never agree as to what McClellan might or might not have accomplished with the splendid army which he had organized, if he had not been interfered with constantly by the President as well as by the politicians big and little in Washington. It was doubtless his misfortune that the scene of his military operations was so near the seat of government. He possessed a genius for organization and was beloved by his soldiers, for whose welfare and comfort he had almost too much concern. The final judgment will probably be that he lacked the moral qualities of a great commander—initiative, energy, versatility and an appreciation of the importance of the political as well as the purely military aspects of a situation. His horizon was circumscribed within narrow and purely military limits. The state of the roads in his immediate front and of his commissariat gave him constant concern. The state of public opinion in the North, which might make a vigorous forward movement on his part imperative, whatever the risk, did not appear to affect him in the slightest degree. It was, no

doubt, the discovery of these radical defects in McClellan's character as a soldier which led Lincoln to distrust him finally and to refuse to give him the free hand which he later gave to Grant without hesitation.

In the West very different conditions from those in the East prevailed. The scene of operations at the outset in Tennessee was a sufficient distance from Washington to make interference from that quarter comparatively difficult and infrequent; general instructions had to suffice. The Union commanders were thus thrown more largely upon their own resources. They were men, moreover, of a different type from the general officers in the East, more aggressive and more tenacious in holding whatever ground they won. They possessed also latent self-reliance and power of initiative, qualities which were developed by the very conditions under which they fought. Grant's peremptory demand for the unconditional surrender of Fort Donelson, in February, 1862, gave the key to his forcible, aggressive character as a military leader. His pugnacious tenacity was revealed a few weeks later in the repulse of General A. S. Johnston's fierce attack upon the Union forces at Pittsburg Landing or Shiloh, a bloody and stubbornly fought battle which was turned into a Union victory by the timely arrival of Buell, and which involved a serious loss to the Confederacy in the death of General Johnston, one of its ablest officers.

When early in 1864 Congress placed Grant in command of all the Union armies his name had become synonymous with victory. The news of his capture of Vicksburg, including Pemberton's army of thirty-one thousand men, after a siege, which had been preceded by a sharp but effec-

PART OF THE ENCAMPMENT OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC
At Cumberland Landing, on the Pamunkey River, Virginia.

tive campaign against Joseph E. Johnston in order to drive him away from the neighborhood, reached the North in 1863 simultaneously with the details of the Union victory at Gettysburg, in which Meade, Hooker's successor in command of the Army of the Potomac, had defeated Lee and had put an end to his audacious invasion of Pennsylvania. The naval expedition of Farragut and Porter having by a bold stroke, a year earlier, destroyed the Confederate batteries and ships below New Orleans, the Mississippi, when Vicksburg surrendered to Grant and Port Hudson consequently capitulated to Banks, came under the control of the Union forces throughout its length. The South was thus divided, and thenceforth the Confederate government was deprived of the rich territory to the west of the river as a source of supplies in men and food. Grant's Chattanooga campaign, in the autumn of the same year, in which he had the assistance of Sherman, Thomas, Sheridan and Hooker, and which culminated in the storming of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, went far to confirm the impression which his career up to that time had created that he possessed military ability of a high order. He revealed, in the words of the Comte de Paris in treating of this campaign, a mind "powerful to conceive, firm to execute and fertile in resources at the critical time." Vicksburg and Chattanooga, therefore, not to include Shiloh and Donelson, made the selection of Grant as the leader of the Union forces inevitable. Here at last, thought the President, is the man to meet and defeat Lee—a man who fights and holds his ground and keeps on fighting until he has gained his end.

Meanwhile some other aspects of the great conflict re-

quire consideration. During the first two years of the war the menace of English or French intervention in behalf of the South gave great concern to the administration of President Lincoln. The Confederate government was confident from the outset that the cotton of the South was so necessary to the prosperity and even to the continued existence of the English mills that Great Britain would be compelled before long to interfere in its behalf—perhaps even to employ force in order to raise the blockade which the vessels of the Union navy had made effective at almost every point along the southern coast. This confidence, however, proved to be misplaced.

As a whole the English aristocracy and the middle classes were hostile to the North, and made no concealment of the satisfaction they would feel if the Confederacy carried out its design to break the great republic in two. This feeling was first revealed early in the war when the two Confederate envoys, Mason and Slidell, were forcibly taken from the British mail steamship *Trent* by an American naval officer and conveyed to Boston. In returning the envoys to the shelter of an English war-vessel Mr. Seward, President Lincoln's Secretary of State, adroitly pointed out that the United States had fought the War of 1812 in defense of the very principle which Great Britain had now applied to the case of the *Trent*. The act of the American naval officer, being thus inconsistent with the invariable policy of the United States government with reference to impressment, was therefore disowned. War with England, with results that can scarcely be imagined, was thus narrowly averted. The arrogant and peremptory manner in which England enforced immediate compliance with its

demands left, however, a rankling wound in the breasts of many men in the North.

The British workingmen, on the other hand, perhaps with a truer instinct for the moral issue involved in slavery as the real cause of the war, sympathized as a rule with the North, notwithstanding the suffering they were enduring from the effects of the blockade of the southern ports. The influence of the President's proclamation, issued as a war measure, emancipating the slaves after January 1, 1863, was immediately felt in England. In the light of emancipation the purpose of the North in the war was no longer solely the preservation of the Union, but included as well the extinction of slavery. After this declaration English intervention in any form in behalf of the Confederacy would have been in effect an effort to protect and perpetuate slavery, and English public opinion, it was soon discovered, would not sustain the government in any course which might lead to such a result.

It was fortunate that through all these anxious years the United States government had as minister at the Court of St. James a man of the character of Charles Francis Adams, whose courage, firmness, self-control and family pride equipped him admirably to meet the cold indifference or open hostility of the English officials with whom he had to deal. It was largely through his intelligent and untiring efforts, moreover, that the schemes of Napoleon III for the joint recognition by England and France of the Confederacy as an independent nation were frustrated. Many years later the British government was compelled to pay the United States fifteen and a half million dollars, under the award of the Geneva tribunal, before which the abundant

and conclusive evidence collected by Mr. Adams was laid, as compensation for the negligence amounting to connivance which allowed the *Alabama* and other Confederate privateers to escape from British ports, fully armed and manned, to carry destruction to American shipping all over the world.

It was impracticable early in the war for the North even to attempt to check the ravages of these Anglo-Confederate commerce destroyers. The all-important establishment and maintenance of the blockade along a coast line of three thousand miles, together with service on the inland waters of the Mississippi and its great tributaries, in conjunction with the operations of the land forces, monopolized the entire energies of the Union navy. During this period and later, however, several noteworthy achievements of the Union naval forces, standing out with distinctness from the monotonous duty of blockade service, possessed unusual significance. The fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, inconclusive in itself but of the highest importance in ending the devastating career of the first iron-clad ram ever built for use in war, revolutionized naval construction in a day, bringing to a close the romantic era in which the *Bonhomme Richard*, the *Victory* and the *Constitution* had played their heroic parts, and ushering in the period in which the formidable steel battle-ships of the present time were to develop. The capture of New Orleans in April, 1862, by the naval expedition under Farragut and Porter, brought the Mississippi as far north as Vicksburg under the control of the Union forces, simplified greatly the problem which the siege of Vicksburg presented to Grant a year later, and supplied the United States minister to England with his first really weighty argument against the recogni-

tion of the Confederacy. Farragut's highest achievement, however, was the victory of his fleet in the battle of Mobile Bay in August, 1864, a victory which closed to blockade runners the last port of importance save Wilmington, N. C., which the Confederates had kept open. Less than two months earlier the *Kearsarge* in sinking the *Alabama* off Cherbourg had presented to Englishmen, under their very eyes, so to speak, an argument in favor of the North of a kind which they could appreciate.

The summer and early autumn of 1864 were a critical period. Despite the discontent of the radicals and the distrust of the leaders even of his own party, and in the face of the tearful protests of the emotional "peace Republicans" of the Greeley type, who were overcome by the sacrifice of thousands of precious lives in the campaigns in which Grant in Virginia and Sherman in Georgia were at last co-operating to a common end, Lincoln, early in June, had been overwhelmingly renominated for the Presidency on the first ballot. Here was further proof, if any were needed, of how much better Lincoln's character and aims were understood by the mass of the Republican party than by the Washington politicians and the New York editors. His moral courage, moreover, was equal to the duty, even under the threatening conditions which, in the lack of decisive victories for the Union forces, overhung his prospects for re-election, of issuing a call for half a million more men to fill the depleted ranks of Grant's and Sherman's battalions, well knowing that the conscription would have again to be resorted to in order to meet this demand, and with the recollection of the draft riots in New York the previous summer still fresh in his mind.

Executive Mansion
Washington, Nov 21. 1864

To Mrs Bixby. Boston. Mass.

Dear Madam.

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully

A. Lincoln.

FAC-SIMILE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S LETTER TO MRS. BIXBY, OF BOSTON.

The news of three Union victories, however, came opportunely to make Lincoln's re-election certain by refuting emphatically the contention in the Democratic platform on which McClellan was nominated, in August, but which he repudiated, that the war was a failure. For it was early in the same month that Farragut destroyed the Confederate forts and war-vessels in Mobile Bay. A few weeks later Sherman, having forced Johnston steadily back from Dalton, defeated Hood, whom President Davis had put in Johnston's place, in a fierce battle before Atlanta and captured the city. And at about the same time Sheridan, in several spirited engagements, destroyed Early's force in the Shenandoah Valley, relieving Washington thenceforth from all danger of an attack from that quarter. Grant, meanwhile, had forced Lee back, slowly but with the sureness of implacable fate, by constantly turning his right flank, to the defenses to the east and southeast of Richmond, where he held him in a vice-like grip. The bloody battle-fields of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, on which tens of thousands of lives were lost, attested both the aggressive fierceness with which this onward movement was made by Grant and the stubborn valor with which every foot of the way was contested by the Confederates under Lee.

At last victory for the Union forces was in the air, and the Republican campaign emphasized at once the determination of the Republicans as a party to carry the war through to the end and the hopeful feeling that at last the end was in sight. The Republicans secured two hundred and twelve presidential electors, the Democrats, only twenty-one. The popular vote, however, of 2,330,552

Republicans to 1,835,985 Democrats, shows more clearly than the electoral vote the relative strength of the two parties. Handicapped though he was by the Democratic platform, with its peace plank and its declaration that the war was a failure, McClellan, running on his war record, polled not far from two million votes. By the adoption early in 1865 of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution the Republicans in Congress made evident to the world their further determination, as one of the purposes of the war, to destroy slavery throughout the United States and to make its revival in any form or at any time impossible.

The collapse of the Confederacy was due to exhaustion through starvation—starvation in men and in money, as well as in food, clothing and all the other supplies necessary to support a people and to carry on war. Beginning the battle of the Wilderness on May 5, 1864, with sixty-one thousand men, Lee surrendered fewer than twenty-seven thousand at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865. By casualties, captures and desertions he had lost more than half of his army. In the ten days preceding the surrender no fewer than nineteen thousand Confederate soldiers had been captured by Grant's forces. It is no reflection on the loyalty of these men to surmise that not a few of them were willing captives, for it was not in human nature to expect that men would longer risk their lives for a cause which, it was perfectly evident, was irretrievably lost.

The South, moreover, was bankrupt in money and supplies as well as in men. Only small returns were secured from Confederate bonds sold abroad, and the purchasing power of the paper currency issued from time to time by Mr.

Davis's government grew steadily less and less until, in the spring of 1864, a coat cost three hundred and fifty dollars in Richmond, a pair of shoes one hundred and twenty-five dollars, a bushel of potatoes twenty-five dollars, and a pound of butter fifteen dollars. Hundreds of thousands of bales of cotton were locked up and made worthless by the Union blockade; English intervention, upon which the South so confidently relied, had proved to be a delusion; no material or effective help had come to the Confederates from their sympathizers among the copperheads of the North. An agricultural people, almost entirely without manufactures, eight million in numbers, owning nearly four million slaves, had exhausted their resources and themselves fighting a manufacturing and agricultural people numbering nineteen millions, so rich that they could supply the federal government with more than two million dollars a day for four years with which to prosecute the war.

Thus weakened, the Confederacy was crushed between Grant's tenacious aggressiveness in pursuing Lee, and Sherman's energy in breaking the back, so to speak, of the South at Atlanta, and in sweeping thence, confident and buoyant, with his army of sixty thousand veterans through Georgia and the Carolinas, where he held Johnston, now restored to the command of a hastily-gathered force, at bay until Lee's surrender made further resistance useless. In the great conflict thus brought to an end the South developed six generals who distinguished themselves—Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, the two Johnstons, Albert Sidney and Joseph E., and the two cavalry leaders, Forrest and Stuart, and the North five who stood pre-eminent among their fellows—Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Meade, and Thomas; the de-

THE McLEAN HOUSE AT APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, IN WHICH LEE SURRENDERED TO GRANT.

feat of Hood by Thomas before Nashville in December, 1864, having contributed vitally to the success of the campaign which Grant and Sherman were waging. It was the misfortune of the Confederacy to lose three of these great captains; Albert Sidney Johnston, early in the war at Shiloh, Jackson at Chancellorsville, and Stuart in an engagement near Richmond, in 1864. They had successors but no equals.

The extent to which President Davis's traits of character and idiosyncrasies of temperament contributed to the downfall of the Confederacy can only be conjectured. Autocratic in temper and tenacious of all of the rights which the Confederate constitution bestowed upon him, he kept a firm control of all military operations, and indulged his personal likes and dislikes in appointments and removals with, no doubt, an honest belief that he was acting always in the best interest of the government of which he was the head. Although he was held mainly responsible by his own people for the disasters which, one by one, overwhelmed the Confederacy toward the end of the war, history will probably confirm Lee's generous judgment that, on the whole, he did as well as any man could have done in the same place. If he had had the wisdom or the courage to stake all on a single mighty blow—to accept, that is, Lee's daring project for a concentration of all the Confederate forces for an overwhelming invasion of the North, the whole course of the war and the fate of the nation might possibly have been changed. To leave the Gulf states thus open to unopposed invasion and devastation was a greater responsibility, however, than the Confederate President was willing to bear. He preferred to cherish the delusive hope that English

intervention would come to the aid of the South in its herculean struggle for independence.

The total cost of the war to the North is wellnigh incalculable. The sum total would include bonds issued from time to time by the government and bought by the people to the amount of nearly three billion dollars, and a large percentage also of the eight hundred million dollars received from duties—internal revenue and customs, to say nothing of the heavy war debts incurred by states, counties, cities and towns. The South was literally impoverished, the value of its slave population, estimated roughly at two billions of dollars in 1861, being wiped out at a stroke.

At the end of the war the Union forces numbered not far from a million men; those of the Confederacy had dwindled to scarcely a fifth of that number. The whole number of individuals in service in the Union army and navy during the Civil War was estimated in 1905 by the Adjutant-General's office to have been 2,213,365. The estimates of the total number in the service of the Confederacy vary from 600,000 to 1,500,000. A fair consideration, however, of the facts given by Thomas L. Livermore in his *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America* leads to the belief that the total number of enlistments in the Confederate army was not far from 1,200,000. From this estimate deductions would have to be made for re-enlistments which might bring the total number of men who served in the Confederate army down to 950,000 or perhaps 900,000. Most southern writers contend that the actual number was between 600,000 and 700,000. These, however, are obviously underestimates. For, as Charles Francis Adams in his *Studies Military and Diplomatic* has pointed out, the Con-

federacy, under any recognized method of computation, contained within itself, first and last, some 1,350,000 white men capable of doing military duty; and to maintain that only about one-half of this possible force was utilized proves too much—proves that the South was lacking in loyalty to its cause, which is the reverse of the truth.

This preponderance of men on the side of the North was in large part neutralized by the necessity the Union generals were under of detaching troops constantly to guard long lines of communications and to garrison strategic points as they advanced, in ever-contracting circles, into the heart of the South, and by the number of men on the Union side who were employed in blockade service. Mr. Livermore's figures showing the number of men engaged on each side in the more important battles of the war go far to prove that, owing to the large requirements of these allied services, the forces actually engaged were much more evenly matched than is generally supposed to have been the case. Thus in forty-eight of the more important battles of the war, beginning with Shiloh and ending with the Appomattox campaign, the aggregate numbers of men engaged were, on the Union side, 1,575,033, and on the Confederate side, 1,243,528, representing approximately a ratio of fifty-five to forty-five. This ratio is maintained also for the relative total numbers of men actually engaged in the half-dozen great battles in which the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia took part—the Seven Days' battle, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg and the Wilderness—the figures being 555,000 men on the Union side as against 413,200 on the Confederate side. Mr. Liv-

REVIEW OF THE UNION ARMIES IN WASHINGTON, MAY, 1864.

General Logan and staff passing Willard's Hotel—Capitol in the distance.

ermore estimates the total number of killed and wounded in the war among the Union men to have been 385,000, and among the Confederates 329,000.

And what were the fruits of the war for which such an awful price in blood and treasure had been paid? The extinction of the institution of slavery and of the doctrine of state sovereignty as causes of anger and strife between the North and the South; the establishment for all time of the federal authority as supreme under the Constitution; the revelation of the power of democracy to preserve its empire intact; and, finally, the substitution in the South of industrial development under freedom for moral lethargy and agricultural stagnation under slavery.

The assassination of President Lincoln, a few days only after the surrender of Lee at Appomattox, was a tragic climax to the colossal struggle which had been in progress for four years, and brought to an untimely end the career of a remarkable man, a genuine son of the soil and the ripest product of the moral forces of the democracy of the young nation. His mission, as he understood it, was to preserve the Union, and, with a singleness of purpose as rare among public men as a rule as it was natural to him as an individual, he subordinated all selfish and personal considerations to the attainment of this great end. To him men were nothing except as they could be used to advance the great cause which the people had placed in his keeping. Patient and self-contained yet resolute and even masterful, he was a silent but powerful force that made for righteousness, against which the envy and the malice of the ambitious and the selfish, as well as the hysteria of the weaklings and the panic-stricken, broke impotently. His character and his

temperament, apparently so simple and yet so tantalizingly elusive, will remain for all time a subject of fascinating study. And among the imperishable records which he has left as a basis for such study none will be found of more abiding value as a reflection of his lofty spirit than the Gettysburg address, unmatched in American literature for nobility of thought and for simplicity and beauty of phrase.

XVII

RECONSTRUCTION AND CORRUPTION

The demoralizing effects of a great civil war upon national character were strikingly illustrated during the decade following the restoration of peace. Old standards of right living and right thinking became blurred or entirely obscured in the smoke that was wafted from scores of fiercely contested battle-fields, and men's worst passions, long repressed by the conventions of an orderly civilization, swayed their minds and governed their actions. To extravagance and waste, which were the natural accompaniments and consequences of war, were added bribery and corruption among federal, state and city officials so flagrant as to make honest men hang their heads in shame and almost in despair, when, in 1876, the nation gathered in Philadelphia to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

This high tide of official knavery and corruption was reached during the two terms of General Grant as President. A poor reader of character and drawn to rather than repelled by men of uncultivated tastes, Grant, in his simplicity, honesty and credulity, became the dupe of more than one designing scamp who used his official position to further his own ends, bringing disgrace and humiliation upon his unsuspecting chief. The conditions, it must be admitted, however, were peculiar. Corruption was a disease of the time, and a stronger man than Grant proved to be might

have been powerless to counteract its subtle influence. The enormous requirements of the government during four years of war, together with the high tariff, had given an artificial stimulus to industries of all kinds, had made manufacturers and contractors rich beyond their wildest dreams, and had created a shoddy aristocracy based on wealth alone. The air, moreover, was feverish with speculative schemes, the possibilities of which threw men usually cool-headed off their mental and moral balance and made them both avaricious and unscrupulous. The extension of railroads into new grain-growing territory in the middle and far West and into the coal and iron fields, with the expansion and re-equipment of old roads to enable them to meet modern requirements, had the effect of creating powerful corporations in need both of favorable legislation and of freedom from legislative interference in carrying out their far-reaching plans. Too often also loyalty to the cardinal doctrines of the Republican party, the enfranchisement of the negro and the suppression of the "rebel vote," was accepted as sufficient to excuse irregularity in official conduct, even when the obvious motive was personal gain.

The facts, however, do not sustain the theory that hatred of the South and a desire for further revenge upon the prostrate people of that section were the principal motives which led the Republicans to give the ballot to the negro. To the Republicans then in Congress the peril to the nation involved in a possible union between the southern whites in control of their state governments and the copperheads of the North was very real. The ex-Confederates, we now know, were not deluding themselves with any such scheme to recover possession of the national government. Ex-

hausted and ruined by the war, they recognized that both slavery and secession were dead beyond any hope of resurrection. They accepted frankly the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery in the United States. The North was still suspicious, however, and their conduct in passing through their state legislatures, immediately after the close of the war, laws regulating negro labor, vagrancy, etc., in refusing to accept the fourteenth amendment conferring the rights of citizenship upon the negro and putting pressure upon the states to allow him to vote, while at the same time disfranchising certain ex-Confederate soldiers, and finally in the Ku Klux Klan outrages designed to frighten negroes from voting under the rights bestowed upon them by the fifteenth amendment, was conclusive evidence to the Republicans in Congress that the ex-Confederates were still at heart enemies of the Union and of the negro.

In the perspective of half a century the bestowal of the suffrage upon the negroes is generally regarded as having been a grave political mistake. The public men of any period, however, are entitled to be judged by the light of the times in which they were obliged to do their work and not by that of subsequent events. In the view, then, of men like Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, the enfranchisement of the negroes was the only way by which the political power of the South for possible evil could be broken, unless the military occupation provided by the Reconstruction act of March, 1867, and by the force bills, so-called, of a later date, was to continue indefinitely. This view was not radical at that time. It was shared by men of the highest patriotism who had no selfish interest, political or other-

No. 134 a **House of Representatives,**

COLUMBIA, S. C. March 7 1871

THE STATE TREASURER,

Will pay to the Order of Mr. D. H. Chamberlain ———

Ms Moses Jr. ——— Dollars.

For amount ~~of account for~~ of gratuity

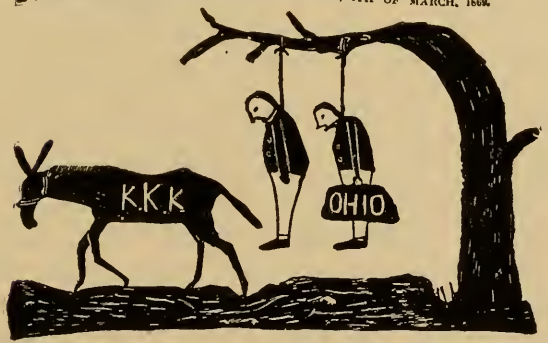
~~Audited and~~ passed by the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

$ 1000.

Attest: A. O'Neal Clerk. J. P. Maxwell Speaker House of Representatives.

(From the Independent Monitor, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, September 1, 1868.)

PROSPECTIVE SCENE IN THE CITY OF OAKS, 4TH OF MARCH, 1869.



"Hang, curs, hang! fate, to *their* hanging! * * * * * *Their* complexion is perfect gallows. Stand fast, good If they be not born to be hanged, our case is miserable."

The above cut represents the fate in store for those great pests of Southern society—the carpet-bagger and scalawag—if found in Dixie's land after the break of day on the 4th of March next.

EVIDENCE IN KU KLUX KLAN CASES BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

Above: Fac-simile of a "gratuity" voted to Governor Moses by the South Carolina Legislature, in 1871. Below: A newspaper clipping.

wise, at stake. "The bare idea," wrote John Jay to Salmon P. Chase, "of the rebel states casting their votes for election in 1868—the blacks being excluded—and giving us again a Democratic and rebel government, is altogether intolerable, and yet that is what the northern Democracy begin to hope for and expect."

Many people in the North, moreover, for whom Sumner was the spokesman, were influenced in favor of negro suffrage by humanitarian motives and by a belief that the negro, under protection and encouragement, would develop into a fairly intelligent and useful voter. The narrow-minded dogmatism, too, of the President, Andrew Johnson, a southern states-rights man of the old type, raised to his high position by the assassination of Lincoln, contributed its share to create the conditions which seemed to make the enfranchisement of the negroes necessary in order to insure the continued safety of the republic.

Under these conditions it was perhaps not unnatural that the North, relieved at last from the prolonged strain of the great conflict and turning its mind again to industrial affairs, should receive with mild incredulity and with more or less indifference the reports of the wholesale robbery to which many of the southern states were subjected during the humiliating period of negro rule following the enforcement of the Reconstruction act, when the "carpet-baggers" and "scalawags," as the white Republicans from the North and of the South were respectively termed, were in full control of the state governments. Ninety per cent of the plunder derived from this orgy of negro legislation went into the pockets of these greedy and unscrupulous white adventurers whom the ignorant hordes of negroes, intoxicated by

their sudden rise to their new estate as voters and office-holders, followed blindly as representing the party which had delivered them from bondage.

The turn of the tide of sentiment in the North came in 1872, and was reflected by the action of Congress in passing the General Amnesty bill restoring to the great majority of the ex-Confederates their full political rights. Much of the bitterness of feeling which the war had left had died out in the meantime, there was less distrust of the designs of the southern leaders, and business affairs had acquired all-engrossing importance. The feeling gained ground steadily that the southern states would be obliged to solve as best they could the difficult problem of negro suffrage. Hence the North regarded with concern, but with a helplessness which the presence of federal troops in the South was powerless to avert, the successful efforts which the southern whites made in the next few years to wrest the control of their state governments from the negroes and their disreputable white leaders. This result was accomplished by a frank resort to intimidation, bribery, and fraud, by which the negro vote was driven or beguiled away from the polls or neutralized.

Meanwhile the demoralizing influences already referred to were at work in the North, fostered by the preoccupation of business men in their urgent private affairs and by the tyranny of partisan politics. Tweed and his rascally Tammany associates got control of the government first of the city and then of the state of New York by fraudulently creating subservient voters out of fresh immigrants and by legislative bribery. During the four years from 1868 to 1871 the members of this corrupt ring stole from the city

a sum variously estimated at from fifty to two hundred millions of dollars, having the aid in this dastardly business of three compliant judges. In the summer of 1871 the thieves fell out and the facts showing the extent to which and the methods by which the city had been plundered for years were disclosed. The city once aroused was soon rescued, and the robbers were driven into exile or thrown into jail.

Tammany Hall under Tweed was Democratic, but the gas ring which flourished in Philadelphia and which, in the decade from 1870 to 1881, added fifty millions to the debt of the city without any corresponding advantages to its citizens, was Republican throughout. Here again the management of the city departments, with limitless opportunities for jobbery and plunder, was complacently left by the business men to the politicians, who in turn provided at every election a large Republican vote and so safeguarded the protective tariff upon which the Pennsylvania industries depended for a considerable percentage of their profits. Compared with New York the admixture of foreign-born voters in Philadelphia was slight. In two great American cities, therefore, where the conditions at this period were entirely different the same pernicious influences were at work to the same end. It was not until 1881 that Philadelphia took effective steps to free itself from the mastery of this corrupt ring, with its state and federal alliances.

National as well as city and state affairs afforded abundant evidence also of the serious moral malady from which the country was suffering. Grant's first term as President did not seem to enlarge his knowledge of human nature or

THE TAMMANY RING.

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to put him on his guard against avaricious conspirators who might be scheming to use him to their advantage. In the summer of 1869 he guilelessly allowed himself to be entertained, while on his way to the Peace Jubilee in Boston and later in New York City, by Jay Gould, and James Fisk, Jr., notorious even then for his profligacy and vulgarity, who together had possessed themselves of the Erie Railroad and who were intimate with Tweed, Sweeney and the Tammany ring judges, Barnard, Cardozo and McCunn.

Gould's purpose in cultivating Grant's acquaintance was to guard against any interference by the government in his audacious plot to corner the market for gold, speculation in which at that time was very active. Grant's unsuspicious nature made him the easy prey of this wily schemer, who, with the help of Fisk, forced up the price of gold until, on the famous Black Friday, September 24, it reached 160, when the government began to sell gold from its surplus and thus broke the market. Gould, forewarned that at last his purpose was understood by the authorities at Washington, saved himself by beginning to sell gold at the critical moment while Fisk remained a buyer and was overwhelmed by contracts which he could not fulfil. The financial and mercantile community meanwhile suffered embarrassments and losses, and business interests throughout the country were disturbed and injured.

Severer still was the blow which Grant's reputation received through the revelations of the pecuniary interest which his private secretary, Babcock, had in the frauds practised upon the government by the St. Louis whiskey ring, made up of distillers, internal revenue officers and officials in Washington. Through the powerful influence

of his distinguished chief, whose habit it was to stand by his friends through evil as well as through good report, Babcock was acquitted of the charge of conspiracy to defraud the revenue. The evidence, however, left it reasonably clear that he had received a share of the ill-gotten profits of the ring and he was forced to vacate his office. The frauds began as early as 1870 or 1871, and among the men who were perpetrating them the supposition was sedulously cultivated that the stolen money, or a considerable proportion of it, went into a campaign fund to secure the renomination of Grant for a second and, later, for even a third term as President. Some of it may have been devoted to this purpose, but no evidence was ever forthcoming to show that Grant, if he knew of this fund, was aware of the illegitimate source whence at least a part of it was derived.

The climax of the President's humiliation was reached when in March, 1876, only a few months before the Republican national convention was to meet, facts were laid before him proving conclusively that General Belknap, who had been his Secretary of War since 1869, had been receiving since November, 1870, a share, perhaps twenty thousand dollars in all, of the profits of the lucrative office of the post-trader at Fort Sill, Indian Territory. Belknap resigned his office in disgrace before proceedings could be begun against him, and was allowed to disappear from the public view.

Other revelations, meanwhile, of the prevalence of bribery and corruption among national legislators, heretofore supposed to be above suspicion, added to the embarrassment of the Republicans and deepened the sickening sense

of despair which honest men throughout the nation felt. These revelations, showing how insidious and mischievous an influence had been exercised for years among certain senators and representatives at Washington by the great railroad corporations, came to light both before and after the financial panic of 1873, with which they were indirectly connected.

This panic was due to various causes, among which were the exhausting effect and the enormous waste of the war and the destruction by fire of a large part of Chicago, in October, 1871, and of Boston, in 1872, with a total estimated loss amounting to the huge sum of $273,000,000. The principal cause, however, was the speculative expansion of all lines of business, and more especially of railroad building, in the years following the Civil War, to a point where it was impossible for the country to finance the projects with which it had overloaded itself. The average increase in railroad building during the four years from 1865 to 1868, inclusive, was only a little over two thousand miles annually. In the next four years, however, more than twenty-four thousand miles were built or relaid, the steel rails produced by the new Bessemer process being used largely for the purpose.. Every branch of allied business, moreover, was pushed during this period to its utmost limit to keep pace with the demand. Prices, too, rose to abnormal heights—steel rails one hundred and twelve dollars a ton and pig-iron forty-nine dollars a ton. The commercial and industrial energy of the country had far outrun the volume of capital available for business purposes.

Recourse in this emergency was had to foreign capital obtained through the sale of railroad bonds, but even this

fresh supply of funds was not enough to meet the urgent needs of the time. The conditions grew more and more feverish until on September 18 the panic began with the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., the financial agents of the Northern Pacific Railway. The disastrous effects of the commercial crisis which followed the crash in Wall Street were felt throughout the country, and fully five years passed before business recovered its normal tone.

In the winter before this financial storm broke the country had been astonished and dismayed by the disclosures of wholesale attempts to bribe members of Congress in the interest of one of the great railroad corporations, the Union Pacific, by the distribution through Oakes Ames, a representative from Massachusetts, of stock in the construction company of the road, called the Credit Mobilier. Several men were practically ruined by these disclosures, the chief among them being Schuyler Colfax, a member of the House of Representatives from Indiana since 1854, Speaker of the House from 1863 to 1869, and Vice-President during Grant's first term. What amazed and appalled the country was not so much the discovery that two or three representatives and a senator should have been found guilty by the investigating committee as it was the revelation that men like Garfield, Dawes and Henry Wilson were regarded as not beyond the reach of the tempter. Dawes and Wilson were guilty only of impropriety; Garfield proved his innocence to the satisfaction of his Ohio constituency, and his election later to the Presidency must be accepted as a clean bill of moral health from the nation.

Blaine fared less well in defending himself, in May and June of 1876, from the charge of having sold to the Union

Pacific and two other railroad companies, at a far higher price than their real value, several hundred thousand dollars' worth of bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad with which he had become burdened, the inference being that these corporations expected him as a consequence to be friendly to their interests as Speaker or as a member of the House of Representatives. The situation called for a clear, simple statement of receipts and disbursements, fortified by cancelled checks and other ordinary documentary evidence. Blaine met it with a passionate and theatrical outburst of fervid rhetoric, proclaiming to the world his entire innocence and denouncing the "rebel brigadiers" who, he charged, were attempting to ruin his character. His defense of his conduct convinced his friends and admirers, of whom he had many, of his innocence of wrong-doing, but did not convince the country at large. As a consequence he lost the Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1876 and the election to the Presidency in 1884.

By reason, therefore, of these shocking revelations of bribery and corruption in official circles and because of the depressed state of business following the panic of 1873, the Republicans found themselves on the defensive in the Hayes-Tilden campaign of 1876, at the close of Grant's two terms. They could point, however, to two acts of Grant's administration which reflected great credit upon him and upon the party—first, the Treaty of Washington, which his Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, had carried to a successful conclusion and under which, as has already been noted, Great Britain, by the award of the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration, was compelled to pay the United States

fifteen and a half million dollars in compensation for the depredations of the Confederate cruisers, the *Alabama*, *Florida* and *Shenandoah;* and, secondly, Grant's courageous veto of the Inflation bill, by which it was proposed to increase the volume of outstanding greenbacks from $382,000,000 to $400,000,000. The resumption of specie payments did not take place until 1879, but this veto of the Inflation bill was most serviceable as a check upon the desire of the West and South to attempt to cure the financial ills of the time by the simple and easy expedient of printing more government money, and went far toward leading the country back to principles of sound national finance.

In the attempt to divert attention from the scandals of the Grant administration and from the depressed state of business, the Republicans made the horrors of the "bloody shirt"—the assaults upon negroes being summarized in this lurid phrase—the danger of a "solid South" and the dread of the "rebel brigadiers" in Congress the issues in the Hayes campaign, and on those issues won the election through the grace of the Electoral Commission in awarding the votes of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana to Hayes. Early in 1877 the Florida Democrats recovered control of their state government; and soon after he was inaugurated President Hayes withdrew the federal troops from Florida and Louisiana, the only remaining states in which they were still quartered, thus acknowledging the utter failure of the policy of his party, adopted a decade earlier, of imposing negro rule upon the old slave states by force.

Since then the southern whites, with the tacit acquiescence of the North, save for an occasional outburst in Con-

gress, have retained possession of their state governments and of all election machinery, local, state and federal, by a resort to intimidation, justifying their course on the ground of absolute necessity, if the intelligence, wealth and honesty, instead of the ignorance, poverty and dishonesty, of a community, were to rule. "We hear much," wrote the late Henry W. Grady, of the *Atlanta Constitution*, "of the intimidation of the colored vote of the South. There is intimidation, but it is the menace of the compact and solid wealth and intelligence of a great social system. Against this menace, peaceful and majestic, counter-organization cannot stand. That is why the negro fails to vote in the South. He will not vote except under persistent and systematic and inspiring organization. This organization cannot be effected or maintained against a powerful and united social system that embraces the wealth and intelligence of the community."

In spite, therefore, of the amendments to the Constitution that were passed in order to secure to him his rights as a citizen, the negro is in effect disfranchised throughout the old slave states. The North accepts the situation with only perfunctory protests, the peril which seemed so threatening to Stevens, Sumner and their associates no longer existing.

XVIII

POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

With the disappearance of slavery and the "solid South" as issues in national politics, a new era began in the history of the American people, an era in which problems in economics and finance pressed for solution; problems arising from the rapid increase in the material prosperity of the country and from the necessity of changes in the laws to meet these new conditions.

One of the most important of these problems was the tariff. The Republican party committed itself to a protective tariff almost at the very beginning of its history, in the platform on which Lincoln was elected President in 1860; and with courage, consistency and signal ability has advocated a protective tariff from that day to this. The leaders of the party in 1860 realized that the twenty-seven electoral votes of Pennsylvania, even then a state with large and valuable manufacturing interests, especially in iron and steel and their products, would be necessary in order to insure the election of Lincoln. A plank was therefore inserted in the Republican platform declaring that a sound policy required the adjustment of import duties so as "to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country"—an announcement that was received with enthusiasm by the Pennsylvania delegates to the convention. This declaration of a protective tariff policy was the chief influence in securing the electoral

votes of Pennsylvania and New Jersey for Lincoln in the memorable contest of 1860, overshadowing in importance even slavery as an issue in those states.

During the Civil War the rates of duty established by the Morrill tariff bill, which became a law in 1861, were raised from time to time in order to secure much-needed revenue to meet the expenses of the war rather than to provide additional protection for American industries. Having accustomed themselves, however, to these high rates and having enjoyed the increased profits obtainable under them, the manufacturers in the middle Atlantic and New England states were unwilling to have them lowered when, in 1870, the demand for a downward revision of the tariff made itself felt among the Republicans of the middle West. So powerful, moreover, had these industrial interests become and so close was the alliance which they had established with the leaders of the Republican party, that they won a substantial victory by preventing any general or systematic reduction of the duties. Again, a decade later, the agitation against the high war duties, as they were still called, under the shelter of which, it was charged by the Democrats, monopolies were being fostered, the country's foreign exports were languishing, and the surplus in the national treasury was being augmented to dangerous proportions, made a further revision of the tariff necessary. The new tariff bill which was passed in 1883 in order to quiet this agitation, but which made only a slight modification in the protective duties, was satisfactory to neither party.

The vote by which this measure became a law revealed one fact, however, of no little significance: thirty-one Dem-

ocrats, twenty-one representatives and ten senators, voted with the Republicans in favor of maintaining high duties. From this time on the protectionist Democrats from the manufacturing states, at first of the North, but, of late years, of the South as well, where coal and iron mines have been developed and where many cotton and other mills have been built, have proved to be the most useful allies of the Republicans in maintaining the high rates of duty. Thus, while the Republican party has always been practically united on this question, save for the desertion in recent years of the Progressives, so-called, of the middle West, the Democracy has been hopelessly divided. Theoretically committed by their party platforms to a tariff for revenue only, with an occasional concession in the form of "incidental protection" to American industries, the Democrats of the most influence in Congress, men of the type of Randall of Pennsylvania, Gorman of Maryland, Brice of Ohio, and Hill of New York, placed the business interests of their constituents above party loyalty and above party pledges, and more than once united with the Republicans in order to prevent any material downward revision of the leading tariff schedules. In 1884, when the Democrats were in control of the House, no fewer than forty-one Democratic representatives, under the leadership of Samuel J. Randall, voted with the Republicans and so secured the defeat of the Morrison bill providing for a horizontal reduction of twenty per cent from the rates established by the tariff act of the previous year.

Cleveland embodied the desire of the rank and file of his party to have the tariff duties substantially reduced, and endeavored in each of his terms of office, and more

especially in the second, to accomplish this end. In his first term a Republican Senate blocked his efforts to secure the passage of the Mills bill; and in his second term, when for the first time since 1856 both houses of Congress and the President were Democratic, Gorman, Brice, Hill and other Democratic senators united with Senator Aldrich, the astute leader of the Republicans, to render the Wilson bill practically harmless, so far as the more important of the protected industries were concerned. Disheartened and discouraged by the party treachery of the Democratic leaders, Cleveland allowed the bill to become a law without his signature.

In his first term a huge surplus in the national treasury, largely the product of the high tariff rates, threatened danger to the business interests of the country and was the excuse for the Mills bill. When he came into power for a second term in 1893, the McKinley tariff bill having been the main issue in the campaign, Cleveland found himself face to face not with a surplus but with a deficit in the treasury. During the intervening administration of President Harrison the Republicans had disposed effectually of the surplus. New pension legislation and lavish appropriations for river and harbor bills, for public buildings and for vessels for the navy, had the effect of, if they were not deliberately designed for the express purpose of, preventing the Democrats, when next they came into power, from using the existence of a dangerously large surplus as an argument for reducing tariff rates. The pension legislation of this period, which increased the annual charge against the treasury from sixty-five million dollars in the opening year of Cleveland's first term, 1885, to one hundred

and thirty-nine million dollars in the final year of Harrison's term, 1892, was effectively cited by the Democrats as an illustration of the government extravagance and wastefulness which a high protective tariff engendered. It was the depleted condition of the treasury when Cleveland entered upon his second term in 1893 that enabled Gorman and Brice to base their public opposition to the Wilson bill on the ground that its operation would leave the treasury with a deficit of a hundred million dollars.

The Wilson bill supplanted the high-tariff McKinley bill of 1890 which had been repudiated by the country in the fall elections of the same year and which was mainly instrumental in making both the legislative and executive branches of the government Democratic two years later. The Dingley tariff bill of 1897 and the Payne-Aldrich bill of 1909 afforded fresh evidence of the closeness of the alliance between the protected manufacturing interests and the Republican leaders in Congress. The Wilson bill, partly owing to the depression in business following the panic of 1893, had not proved to be satisfactory, and the Republicans, again swept into power in 1896 by the popular revulsion against Bryan and free silver, substituted for it the Dingley tariff bill. As in the Payne-Aldrich bill of a dozen years later some schedules were modified and a few raw materials were placed on the free list. But for the great bulk of manufactured articles the rates remained high.

Various new ideas were embodied in these measures—provisions for reciprocity treaties and a system of maximum and minimum rates of duty, both of which were designed to force tariff concessions from foreign countries. The Payne-Aldrich bill provided for a board of tariff ex-

perts to make a scientific examination of the tariff rates, schedule by schedule, as a basis for more intelligent legislation than had heretofore been possible. It remains to be seen from the action of Congress on the reports of this board on the wool and other schedules whether the downward revision of the tariff is henceforth to proceed along scientific lines or is to be practically dictated, as heretofore, by the leading manufacturers concerned. However much truth, finally, there may be in the Democratic contention that the protective tariff has produced swollen fortunes at one end of the social scale and wide-spread poverty and discontent at the other, and has begotten wellnigh criminal extravagance in the conduct of the government's business, few will be disposed to deny that, taken as a whole, the country has prospered marvellously under the tariff policy of the Republicans.

Of even greater importance than the tariff was the contest for sound money which began with Grant's veto of the Inflation bill and continued for a full quarter of a century before the gold standard was finally adopted as the basis for the government's system of finance. For a decade after the close of the Civil War the popularity of the greenback was great. The notion had become widely prevalent toward the end of this period, especially in the middle West and South, that the needs of the country for a larger volume of currency could be satisfied if the government would print more greenbacks. What the West and the South needed was not a more generous distribution by the government of paper currency but additional capital, and capital could be had only in exchange for labor or commodities. But with all their available capital tied up in real

estate and in manufacturing and farming enterprises, and with their debts steadily increasing, the men of the West and the South looked to the government for relief, and mistakenly thought that relief could he had through the issue of more "fiat" money. Grant's veto of the Inflation bill and the ample opportunities for discussion which the lean years following the panic of 1873 afforded, did much to dispel the illusions which had become popularly associated with the greenback.

It was in this period of inactivity in business and in this manner that the attention of the West and of the South became diverted from greenbacks to silver as a promising remedy for the inadequacy of the circulating medium. In the preceding half-dozen years the production of silver in the Rocky Mountain states had been increasing enormously. The value of the silver output of these states, which in 1861 was only $2,000,000, reached $12,000,000 in 1868, $28,750,000 in 1872 and $37,000,000 in 1874. Four years later, when the production had reached $40,000,000, the demand, especially from the silver-producing states, that Congress provide some method by which this huge volume of the white metal might be absorbed into the coinage system of the country became incessant and insistent. Many of the arguments that prevailed during the greenback craze were readapted to meet the silver situation and were repeated with new energy, the association of abundant money and business prosperity having fixed itself firmly in the minds of multitudes of men, not a few of whom were outspoken in their advocacy of even the free coinage of silver.

So strongly and widely held were these views that in

1878 Congress was compelled to pass the Bland-Allison bill restoring the silver dollar to the standard coinage, from which it had been dropped five years earlier, providing for the coinage of from two to four million dollars in silver each month, and making silver dollars legal tender to any amount. In the same year the further retirement of greenbacks was forbidden; what the people wanted was not less but more "money." Under the stimulus of these government purchases the production of silver increased rapidly until in 1890 it reached $57,000,000. Efforts were making meanwhile to interest other nations in silver. Commissioners were sent abroad in the hope of persuading leading foreign governments of the advantages of international bimetallism. European financiers, however, turned an unsympathetic ear to the arguments of the American emissaries; the single gold standard, they said, satisfied all their needs.

The demands of the advocates of silver kept pace with the constantly increasing production of the mines, however, and at last the pressure became too strong longer to be resisted. In response to these demands Congress in 1890 passed the Sherman Silver Purchase bill, in accordance with which the government engaged to buy, each month, four and a half million ounces of silver at the market rate, not to exceed $1.29 an ounce, paying therefor by issues of legal-tender treasury notes redeemable in gold or silver at the option of the government. In other words, the government pledged itself to buy from the states of the far West practically the entire output of their silver mines. The arrangement was a profitable one for the mine-owners, but proved to be costly for the country at large.

Under these heavy monthly purchases by the government the price of silver naturally began to fall. In the three years that intervened between the passage of the Silver Purchase bill and the special session of Congress called by Cleveland in August, 1893, the price declined from $1.09 to 75 cents an ounce. Meanwhile, by the operation of a law well known to students of finance, the cheaper metal, silver, had been driving the dearer metal, gold, out of the country in exchange for American bonds and other securities which European holders did not care to carry longer for fear lest the American passion for silver might precipitate a catastrophe involving them in heavy losses. The government's gold reserve had been drained in this operation to such an extent that the danger became great that the national finances would be forced upon a silver basis, with serious injury to credit and to industries of all classes.

The repeal of the Silver Purchase act at this special session of Congress came too late. The mischief had already been done, and in the next few years Cleveland was obliged to purchase more than $150,000,000 in gold through the sale of bonds to New York bankers and to the public in order to keep the government's gold reserve above the danger mark and to preserve the relative values of gold and silver. The intelligence, moral courage and strength of will which enabled Cleveland, without help either from his own party in Congress, the leaders of which he had antagonized, or from the Republicans, to carry the national finances through this crisis, may in time be regarded by history as his highest title to the gratitude of his countrymen.

Other causes than the government's purchases of silver

contributed largely to the panic of 1893—agricultural depression, the excessive mortgaging of farms, reckless railway financiering and extravagance in public and private life. The panic served to bring freshly to light, however, the defects of a monetary system which for years had favored silver at the expense of gold. The lessons of the panic were therefore an educational influence of the highest value. The advocates of sound money, moreover, had been far from idle during these years, and the effects of their teachings were revealed in the presidential campaign of 1896, when the business interests not only of the East but of the West united to defeat Bryan, the candidate representing free silver. The general revival of business in McKinley's first administration and the great increase in the production of gold in the far West and in Alaska, the advance being steady from $36,000,000 in 1893 to $79,000,000 in 1900, were also important influences affecting public opinion in favor of sound money. In 1900, therefore, in response to a demand directly opposite in character to that which had prevailed ten years earlier, an act of Congress placed the finances of the nation on a gold basis. The defeat of Bryan for a second time in the autumn of the same year stamped the national seal of approval upon this act, and put an end to the agitation in favor of free silver.

The panic of 1907, following laxity and extravagance in insurance and trust company management, over-speculation in real estate projects and an undue extension of many branches of business, illustrated anew in its paralyzing effects the necessity for the reform of the coinage and currency system of the country. What was needed has been admirably summarized by A. Barton Hepburn, a high

authority in banking, in his *Contest for Sound Money*—a monetary system which would give stability to metallic money and security and flexibility to paper currency, to the end that prices might remain steady and interest rates continue reasonably uniform and equitable throughout the country. Whether or not a system possessing these merits is to be found in the recommendations submitted to Congress in January, 1912, of the National Monetary Commission, of which ex-Senator Aldrich was the chairman, remains to be seen. The adoption of such a system is not expected to prevent panics so much as to deprive panics of some of their most disastrous accompaniments and consequences.

Aside from those which have already been referred to or which will be considered in a later chapter, the two most important events in the foreign relations of the nation since the Civil War have been the purchase of Alaska in 1867 and the vigorous assertion by President Cleveland in 1895 of the Monroe Doctrine as a means of compelling Great Britain to submit its boundary dispute with Venezuela to arbitration. The circumstances under which Secretary Seward obtained Alaska from Russia for the sum of $7,200,000 were all propitious. The people of the Pacific states and territories had for years been anxious to acquire fishing rights along the coast of Alaska, and Russia was very willing to sell a possession from which little or no revenue was derived and which was remote and difficult to defend, especially as the results of the Crimean War had made it necessary for the Russian government to husband its energies and to concentrate its resources. Not a few men in Congress and a considerable portion of the public were disposed to take a jocose view of the expenditure of

so large a sum of money for the purchase of a country which was supposed to be covered for the greater part with snow and ice and which was facetiously termed Walrussia. Time, however, proved that the judgment of Secretary Seward, who had the imagination to foresee the strategic and commercial advantages likely to result from the acquisition of the territory, was sound. For the purchase proved to be one of the most fortunate and profitable that the United States ever made. It added an area of 590,884 square miles to the national domain—an area a third greater than that of the Atlantic states from Maine to Florida; and the value of the principal products of the land and the waters of the country, furs, fish and minerals, from 1867 down to 1912, has exceeded the huge total of $420,000,000. It is worthy of remark that the negotiations with reference to this purchase were greatly facilitated by the use of the Atlantic cable, the successful laying of which, due to the boundless faith and indomitable energy of Cyrus W. Field, had been completed in the previous year.

The Monroe Doctrine, which had lain dormant since 1866, when, with the veteran troops of Grant and Sherman behind it, it had only to be referred to in order to force the French army of occupation, sent thither by Napoleon III, out of Mexico, was revived in 1895 by President Cleveland and his Secretary of State, Richard Olney, and was made to apply to the boundary dispute, which had been in existence for half a century, between Venezuela and British Guiana. The position of Cleveland and Olney seemed to be that as Great Britain had repeatedly refused to submit the dispute to arbitration, and was apparently determined to impose its will and its notion of the proper boundary line

upon a weak and helpless nation, the Monroe Doctrine was clearly applicable to the case. Cleveland also appears to have thought that if he adopted a firm tone and made perfectly clear the intention of the United States to fight rather than tamely to allow Venezuela to be despoiled of territory that might rightfully belong to her, England would back down. He may have been convinced, moreover, that war would be less likely to result from his message to Congress, with its provision for a commission of inquiry, involving consequent delay, than from the agitation of the subject in Congress and in the sensational newspapers, with possibly irritating effects upon both Englishmen and Americans, while further futile negotiations were dragging along. He certainly assured his intimates at the time that the message would result not in war but in arbitration, and this prediction turned out to be correct.

The risk, however, which Cleveland took in this affair was great, and the verdict of history will probably be that it was rather through good fortune than good judgment that serious trouble was avoided. For the timely intervention of Jameson's raid into the Transvaal occurred at this moment, and the congratulatory dispatch of the German Emperor to President Krüger so incensed and inflamed all England that Venezuela and Cleveland's bellicose message were forgotten. Lord Salisbury, who had maintained from the first that the Monroe Doctrine was not applicable to the controversy—a position since shared by not a few historians and publicists, American as well as foreign—finally consented to arbitration, and the grave danger that undoubtedly lay in the situation was happily averted.

Cleveland's second term of office was noteworthy not only for his courageous stand in favor of sound money and for his controversy with England over Venezuela, but for the substantial assistance which he gave to the cause of civil service reform. The greatest advances which have been made under the Pendleton Civil Service law, passed in 1883, in taking the appointment of government officials out of the control of the politicians, are to be credited to President Cleveland and President Roosevelt. At the end of 1911 about 230,000 government positions were in the classified service. Nearly all of these offices, however, as was pointed out by Dr. Charles W. Eliot, the president of the National Civil Service Reform League, in the address which was read in Philadelphia, in December, 1911, are subordinate places with low salaries. On the other hand, nearly all the superior offices, having good or high salaries worth assessing for political purposes, more than one hundred thousand in number, are still filled by the patronage method. "It is their grip," Dr. Eliot added, "on the vast total of the salaries paid to public officers appointed by the patronage method, and on the personal services of such officers, which maintains the bosses, rings and machines," and which prolongs "the power of the senators, congressmen, governors, mayors and state, county or city elected representatives and officials who control all the appointments not made on the merit system."

President Taft recommended that the entire executive civil service of the national government, excluding officers responsible for the policy of administration and their immediate personal assistants or deputies, be placed on the merit system of appointment. For the reasons, however,

THOMAS A. EDISON AT WORK IN HIS LABORATORY IN ORANGE, NEW JERSEY.

From a photograph copyright by W. K. I. Dickson.

so tersely stated by Dr. Eliot, the politicians in Congress have not thus far shown any disposition to resign their patronage prerogatives. Further education of public opinion and further pressure upon Congress will be necessary before this final and decisive step in the reform can be taken.

The inventive ingenuity of the American people has kept pace in its development since the Civil War with the progress of the nation in other fields of endeavor. Indeed, a book might easily be written about the wonderful discoveries, especially in electricity, of the last thirty or forty years—discoveries the practical application of which to every-day uses has brought about great changes in the social and industrial life of every community. Several of these inventions, notably the Bell telephone and the Edison incandescent light, with the application of electricity as power to street cars and to other purposes, have proved to be scarcely less serviceable to humanity than the discovery, half a century earlier, that steam-power could be used to propel railway trains and vessels.

Alexander Graham Bell received his patent for his remarkable invention in 1876. So universal since then has become the use of the telephone that in 1911 the daily average number of messages passing over the nearly thirteen million miles of Bell wires in the United States was more than twenty-four million, representing a total for the year of considerably more than seven and a half billion messages. The Edison electric light which has displaced gas as effectually as the automobile in its various forms has displaced the horse, dates only from 1880, when it was first publicly exhibited. Electricity has become a means also of generating heat as well as of light and power, and

fuel oil, as a source of power for driving vessels and locomotive as well as stationary engines, is coming into more and more general use every year.

It would be a mistake, moreover, to regard the Edison phonograph and the graphophone in their perfected forms and the various self-playing pianos, especially those with electrical attachments, merely as toys of marvellous ingenuity. For these inventions have undoubtedly done more in portions of the country remote from the larger cities to develop among the people a taste for good music than could have been accomplished in generations without their aid. Finally, those two wonderful playthings of the air, aeroplanes, in the successful construction and manipulation of which Wilbur Wright and his brother, of Dayton, Ohio, were the pioneers, and dirigible balloons, have yet to prove their practical value. He would be rash indeed, however, who, in the light of the marvellous achievements of the last quarter of a century, should venture to predict that they are to remain toys of extraordinary ingenuity or that man's mastery of the land and the sea is not at some time in the future to extend to the air in such a way as to be of practical service to humanity.

XIX

BUSINESS EXPANSION AND IMPERIALISM

No economic question of wider public interest ever arose in the United States than that precipitated in 1911 by the disintegration, under the decisions of the Supreme Court, of the Standard Oil and the American Tobacco companies. In its simplest form this question concerned itself with the relative merits of the opposing principles of industrial combination on the one hand and of industrial competition and individualism on the other. In order to make clear the nature of this controversy it will be necessary to recall briefly the causes which led to the passage by Congress, first of the Interstate Commerce bill, in 1887, and, more especially, of the Sherman Anti-trust bill, so-called, in 1890.

The Interstate Commerce law was enacted, first, for the purpose of checking the growing tendency on the part of railway corporations to form agreements regarding freight rates and to make pooling arrangements regarding earnings, thus eliminating competition with each other; and, secondly, in order to prevent discriminations in freight rates in favor of this or that individual or corporation, this or that community, or this or that commodity. The law forbade these practices, made the publicity of rates compulsory, and created a commission to investigate complaints and to impose fines for violations of the law. A federal law was necessary in order to accomplish this end because the

Supreme Court had just decided that the power of a state to regulate railway matters was restricted to the traffic within its own borders; and a federal law was fortunately made possible by the clause in the Constitution giving Congress authority "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the states." Such was the rapidity with which new railways had been and were later constructed that the total mileage for the United States reached not far from two hundred and fifty thousand in 1912.

In the middle 'eighties the railway corporations, with their agreements, pools, discriminations and rebates, were the chief objects of complaints on the part of shippers. As the years passed, however, the attention of the public and of Congress was attracted more and more to the combinations or trusts, as they came to be called, in various industries, particularly in those dealing in iron, steel, woollen goods and oil products, and to the effects upon prices of these trusts. It was soon realized that an important economic change was foreshadowed by this tendency toward concentration. Individual initiative and enterprise and domestic freedom in competition, which had supplied the motive power for American industrial progress for a century, seemed to be threatened by the new business principle of combination and community of interests, the effects, if not the purposes, of which might be restraint of trade, monopoly and high prices.

Such were the conditions when, in 1890, the Sherman Anti-trust bill was passed. The purpose of the measure, in a word, was to make illegal any combination of corporations or individual manufacturers, ordinarily competitive, in restraint of trade and thus resulting in or tending

toward monopoly. Prices were so high in 1890 as to be subjects for newspaper comment; and Senator Sherman, in introducing the Anti-trust bill, said, referring to the industrial combinations against which it was aimed, "Congress alone can deal with them, and if we are unwilling or unable, there will soon be a trust for every production and a master to fix the price of every necessary of life." The bill as it was finally passed was in the main the work of Senator Edmunds and of other members of the Judiciary Committee, to which on its introduction it was referred. The expectation of the framers of the measure was that it would have the effect of re-establishing on a firm and lasting basis the economic principle of free competition and individual enterprise in American industrial affairs.

No such immediate result, however, followed. Save for the suits brought under President Harrison's administration against the Whiskey trust and the Sugar trust, both of which were unsuccessful because of inefficient management, the law became and remained a dead letter, ignored or forgotten apparently by everybody for more than a decade. The reasons for this neglect are not far to seek. In those days, the railroads, as has already been explained, were the chief offenders, and it was to the railroad companies that the government gave the most attention. Moreover, industrial trusts were not then numerous, and, with few exceptions, were not formidable. Indeed, several of them, notably the Cordage trust, became involved in financial difficulties in consequence of the panic of 1893 and were virtually forced out of business. They were regarded with more or less suspicion by both bankers and public, and most of them seemed likely to hang themselves without

help from the government, if the traditional length of cordage were vouchsafed them.

The conditions, in truth, calling for the enforcement of the Anti-trust law did not exist until after the war with Spain. That war and its results, however, set in motion, in 1898, a powerful current of new ideas, which seemed to have an immediate and an extraordinary effect upon the imaginations and upon the temperaments, usually more or less conservative if not phlegmatic, of business men throughout the country, resulting in a condition of affairs of deep interest to the student of what may perhaps be called mercantile psychology. The force of circumstances had at last made the American nation a world power, with outlying dependencies and with corresponding obligations and responsibilities. Isolation, detachment from the affairs of the outside world, which Washington in his Farewell Address had advised, was no longer possible either in politics or in business. The barriers were down, and opportunity beckoned to men of self-confidence, daring and large ideas.

It was under the influence of these ambitious and far-reaching dreams that the great movement began in 1899 to bring whole industries under the control of boards of directors of single corporations. The technical conditions at the moment were all of a character, moreover, to encourage those eager to organize and finance big projects. Money was plentiful; general business was good; sentiment was optimistic; the tariff was settled by the Dingley law for a long time, it was thought, to come; no further danger was apprehended from Bryan and free silver; the gold standard was about to be adopted as a permanent basis for

the nation's finances; prosperity had come even to the farmers of the middle West; the crops were more varied in character and had increased greatly in value, wheat, for example, from $213,000,000 in 1893 to $392,000,000 in 1898; finally, as if in anticipation of this very situation, the New Jersey Holding Company law, which had recently been passed, offered, by its comprehensiveness and elasticity, a convenient means by which whole industries could be combined under a compact central management, with promises of large profits to the promoters of these enterprises.

Such was the feverish energy with which, under these favorable conditions, new combinations were organized, that in the single year of 1899 the capitalization of the various industrial corporations formed amounted, according to careful estimates, to the huge total of three and a half billion dollars, a not inconsiderable part of which represented such intangible assets as patents, good-will and even expectations. Railway systems, moreover, as well as manufacturing industries, were subjected, in the years immediately following, to the same process of combination under the management of individuals or small groups of men. Mr. Harriman brought the Union, Central and Southern Pacific systems, one-third of the total railway mileage of the United States, under his personal authority, and the Northern Securities Company, formed by Mr. Hill, exercised virtual ownership and control over the three systems of the Northern Pacific, Great Northern and Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. Similar influences were at work, meanwhile, among the large financial institutions of the country, the national banks, trust companies, insurance companies and great banking houses, the appar-

ent purpose of which was gradually to concentrate, in the hands of a comparatively small group of men, the control, for good or evil, of enormous financial resources. The extreme lengths to which even men of character and repute and of influence in the world of finance seemed ready to go in those days, if unchecked by publicity and the resulting public opinion, were clearly indicated by the revelations of the legislative inquiry, conducted by Mr. Hughes, into the management of the great insurance companies of New York City.

The gravest danger, however, lay in the industrial combinations, which multiplied so rapidly that by the end of 1903 practically every important industry in the country had been subjected to the process of consolidation into one or more big units. The danger was that these huge industrial organizations representing vast amounts of capital might come to regard themselves as superior to the law and as free to exercise their will, with reference to smaller competitors or to prices, without let or hindrance from the government or from any other source. The apparent aims and the business methods, moreover, of not a few of these combinations indicated either ignorance of the scope and purpose of the Anti-trust law or a belief that the law was to be allowed to lie in abeyance. The conjecture was even hazarded that these corporations supposed themselves to be too rich and too powerful ever to be successfully attacked by the government for a violation of its provisions.

The duty of combating and of effectively checking this tendency in the economic development of the nation fell to the lot of President Roosevelt, who succeeded President McKinley when the latter was assassinated at Buffalo in

1901, the conditions then prevailing being exactly those which the Sherman Anti-trust law was designed to correct. In his very first message President Roosevelt indicated the lines along which he thought the government should proceed with reference to the trusts, holding that "industrial combination and concentration should be, not prohibited, but supervised and within reasonable limits controlled," the first prerequisite to which was full publicity as to the affairs of corporations doing an interstate business as a basis for proper government regulation. The dissolution, in 1904, of the Northern Securities Company as a combination in restraint of trade, and so monopolistic, was the result of the first aggressive step in the crusade which he carried on, with determination and fearlessness, to compel rich malefactors to bring their business affairs into accord with the letter and the spirit of the Anti-trust law; and the disintegration of the Standard Oil Company and of the American Tobacco Company under similar decisions in 1911 was the final fruit of further action which he took to the same end. President Roosevelt held resolutely at the same time to the position that modern industrial conditions were such that big combinations of capital were as inevitable as corresponding combinations of labor, and that it was idle to attempt or to desire to put an end to either. It was not the size but the purposes and business methods of the corporation which might make it a violator of the Anti-trust law. The remedy was to be found in government supervision and control, as in the case of the railways and national banks. In 1906, in line with these recommendations, the scope of the Interstate Commerce law was enlarged by further legislation so that those other "com-

UNITED STATES TROOPS LANDING AT DAIQUIRE, CUBA.

mon carriers," express companies, sleeping-car companies and oil-pipe lines, were also brought under the supervision and control of the commission.

Many suits were begun by the government in the administrations of President Roosevelt and President Taft for violations of the Anti-trust law, and for a time, following the panic of 1907, the former was denounced on all sides for "interfering with business." By the end of 1911, however, it became evident that a decided change of opinion, as regards the Sherman law in its relation to trusts, had taken place among the business men directly or indirectly affected by the measure, as well as among the people at large. Although new corporations with a capitalization of not far from two billion dollars were formed in 1911, the absence of any fresh projects for industrial consolidations, the public announcement of the abandonment of various plans for uniting similar industries, and the results, satisfactory on the whole, attending the disintegration of the Standard Oil and American Tobacco holding companies were unmistakable signs of this change of sentiment. Whether, finally, the consumer is or is not to be benefited through lower prices by the disintegration of these big industrial combinations remains to be seen. Business men are pretty well agreed that destructive competition such as existed twenty-five years ago cannot be restored under present-day conditions, and that to attempt to restore it would be as undesirable from the point of view of the consumer as from that of the manufacturer.

The war between the United States and Spain, in 1898, which seemed to open the way for these epoch-making economic changes, was brought about by a variety of

causes. The patience of the American people had been severely tried for many years by the inability of Spain to suppress the constantly recurring insurrections in Cuba. Their sense of justice, moreover, had been outraged by the cruel, not to say inhuman, methods to which the Spanish military authorities had resorted in order to recover and maintain their control of the island. It was natural also that the sympathy of Americans should be with the Cuban revolutionists who were trying to throw off the yoke of Spanish tyranny. Contemporary evidence is not wanting, however, to show that further diplomacy and a little more patience would have been sufficient to induce Spain to yield to all of the essential demands which the United States government could reasonably have made, had it not been for the effect upon public opinion, first, of the blowing up, at Havana, of the battle-ship *Maine*, in February, with the consequent loss of two hundred and sixty lives, and, secondly, of the report of the naval board of inquiry to the effect that the originating cause of the disaster was an external mine. Since the wreck of the *Maine* was raised another board has reached a similar conclusion from somewhat different premises, and yet it seems as if the truth as to the ultimate cause of this catastrophe might always remain a subject of dispute among experts.

President McKinley was not the type of man to throw cold water, in an emergency of this sort, upon the smouldering anger of his countrymen. He was a follower, not a leader, of public opinion, and it was easy for him to persuade himself that the clamor for war with which the sensation-loving newspapers soon filled the air was the voice of the people and must be obeyed. The progress of

the war revealed the hopeless inferiority of the Spaniards to the Americans in sea power, the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Manila by Admiral Dewey and of the Spanish cruisers at Santiago by Admiral Sampson's vessels leaving the Spanish government no alternative but to make peace. Throughout the war the sympathies of the Latin races of Europe were, not unnaturally, with Spain. From first to last, however, the United States enjoyed the novel sensation of having the moral support of England. Forgetting the Venezuela affair, Englishmen, for the first time in history, seemed to take a certain sort of pride in the achievements, naval and military, of their American cousins.

Two important military lessons were impressed upon the nation by the war. One was that typhoid fever was a much more deadly enemy to the American troops in the field than the Spanish regiments were. The other, growing out of the remarkable voyage of the battle-ship *Oregon* around South America, was the necessity of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama which would bring the Atlantic seaboard and the Pacific coast within easier and quicker communication. Recent advances in the science of preventive medicine resulting in the discovery of an anti-typhoid serum are expected to go far toward solving one of these problems, while, as will appear later, the Panama Canal will solve the other.

Influential opposition to the imperialistic policy embodied in the acquisition by the United States of distant dependencies inhabited by alien races, under the terms of the treaty of Paris, developed immediately, especially in the East, so contrary was this result of the war to the theory

BATTLE-SHIP "OREGON" UNDER WAY IN NEW YORK HARBOR.

of American destiny which had prevailed for more than a century. This opposition, moreover, increased in volume and in emphasis when American troops were used to suppress the insurrection in Luzon of Aguinaldo and his Filipino followers. If the problems presented by Porto Rico were comparatively simple, those growing out of the ownership and military control of the Philippine archipelago on the other side of the world, with its sixteen hundred islands, its area of land more than equal to that of New England, New York and New Jersey combined, and its population, savage, half-savage and civilized, of more than seven millions, were regarded by many as anything but simple, and seemed likely to bring upon the United States heavy responsibilities and to foreshadow serious complications with foreign powers for which there would be no compensating advantages.

On the other hand, while it is undoubtedly true that the transfer of the Philippines, as Admiral Mahan has pointed out, "not only was not an object of the war, but was accepted with reluctance, under an unwilling sense of duty, as one of its unfortunate results," there existed throughout the country a feeling of pride, not unmixed with exhilaration, that the national boundaries had been thus broadened, and that henceforth the United States would of necessity take a place among the nations of the world and bear a share of the wider and larger responsibilities involved in its new position. China, in particular, as a field for commercial enterprise in which the United States would now not be without influence, gave to the possession of the Philippines a new significance which was emphasized when American troops were dispatched thither, first on the

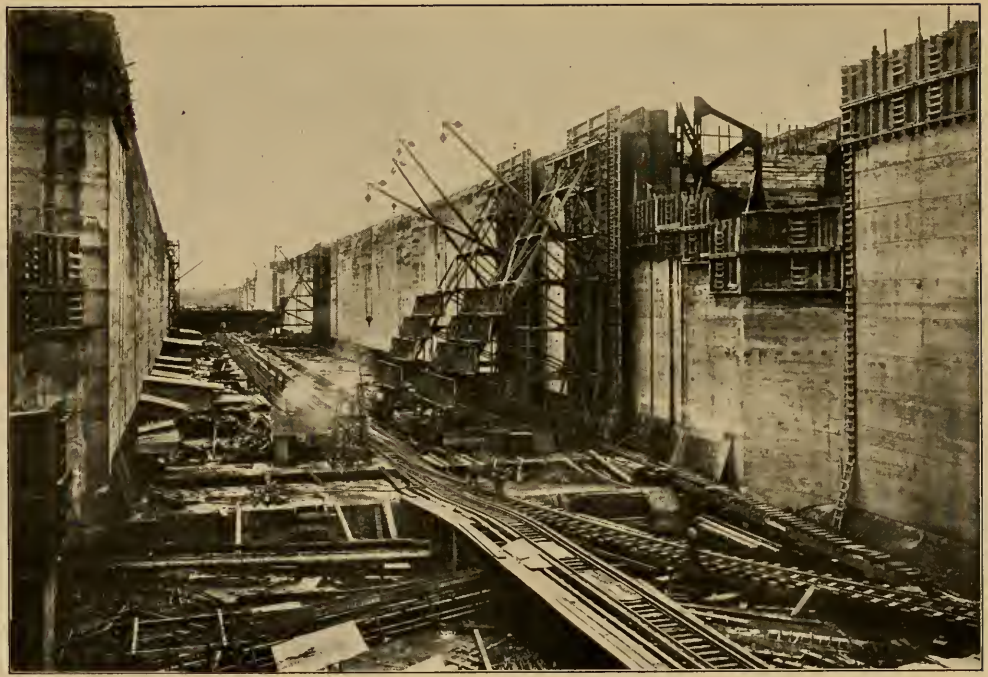
occasion of the Boxer uprising in 1900, and again in 1912, when the revolution against the Manchu dynasty was in progress. Both of these expeditions were coincident with the enunciation of the policy of the United States, first by Secretary Hay in the McKinley administration and later by Secretary Knox in the Taft administration, in favor of the territorial integrity of China and the maintenance in China of the "open door" to the commerce of the world.

An earlier step in this imperialistic policy had already been taken when in August, 1898, only a few weeks after the naval battle of Santiago, the Hawaiian Islands had been formally annexed to the United States by an act of Congress. This result had been preceded by a revolution in the islands through which the native monarchy had been overthrown and a republic established, the foreign element, in which Americans predominated, and the educated natives joining forces to this end.

The ownership of these islands, to which a territorial form of government was given by Congress in 1900, and of the Philippines was a constant reminder of the strategic and commercial necessity for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, the need of which had been so severely felt when the *Oregon* made its long journey to join the American fleet at Santiago, and President Roosevelt took up this well-nigh herculean labor with characteristic energy and self-confidence. The selection of the Panama in preference to the Nicaragua route was due chiefly to the discovery that the bankrupt French company founded by DeLesseps would sell its rights, its constructed work and its property, portable and otherwise, for what was regarded by the board of American engineers as a fair price, forty million dollars.

Other advantages were: better harbors at either end of the canal, a shorter route for vessels, less liability to earthquakes and lower cost of operation. Excavating was begun in 1907, and so rapid has been the progress of the work under the engineer-in-chief, Colonel Goethals, that the canal promises to be completed some time before the formal opening in 1915. Its cost, including the fortifications necessary for its defense, will exceed four hundred million dollars. Scarcely second in importance to this work as a feat of engineering under wellnigh ideal administrative conditions, has been the scientific application of modern sanitary measures to tropical conditions of notorious unhealthfulness, with results little short of marvellous as regards the freedom from sickness and the general well-being of the hosts of laborers and officials engaged in the construction of the canal. What effects the canal will have upon the commerce of the United States and of the world at large, only time can tell.

True to its pledge to give independence to Cuba, the United States, in May, 1902, withdrew its troops from the island after they, in conjunction with the civil authorities, had restored order and had made the principal cities and towns safe as regards sanitary conditions—an illustration of good faith thought to be unique in the history of the dealings of powerful with weak nations in an age of territorial aggrandizement for commercial exploitation and for political prestige. Four years later an insurrection left the island without a government, and the United States was obliged, under the treaty provisions for intervention, to send troops to Cuba to restore order, to establish a provisional government and to organize and set in motion the



PANAMA CANAL—GATUN UPPER LOCKS, EAST CHAMBER, LOOKING SOUTH, DECEMBER 16, 1910.

By courtesy of the *National Geographic Magazine.*

machinery through which the Cubans themselves might form a new government that would be permanent. This done the American troops were again withdrawn. It was made clear, however, by President Roosevelt that if insurrection became a habit with the Cubans the island would lose its independence. Twice President Taft felt obliged to send notes of warning to the Cuban government, once, in the summer of 1911, calling attention to the danger of extravagance in the management of the finances of the republic, and again, early in 1912, with reference to the activity of political agitators among the veterans of the war against Spain. Thus the fate of the new republic is still in the balance.

Roosevelt the President proved himself to be as efficient as a peacemaker as Roosevelt the soldier was energetic and aggressive in the war with Spain. For it was through his good offices that Russia and Japan were induced, in 1905, to make peace at Portsmouth, an instance of the increasing influence which the nation was acquiring in the affairs of the Far East; and three years earlier he had persuaded the railway operators and mine workers in Pennsylvania to settle their differences regarding wages and hours of labor by arbitration, thus bringing to an end the most serious strike that had ever occurred in the anthracite coal region. His restless energy, moreover, expended itself along many economic lines other than those already referred to, the main purpose of all of these efforts being to prevent the natural resources of the lands and waters of the country from falling into the hands of unscrupulous individuals and of greedy corporations, and to reclaim for the agricultural use of actual settlers the arid lands of the Far West by elab-

orate irrigation projects, the expense of which was met from the proceeds of the sale of public lands. So varied and complex indeed were the problems which the economic and social changes of this period brought to the fore that it became necessary in 1903 to establish a new department of the government dealing with commerce and labor, to the secretary of which was given a seat in the cabinet.

The commanding figure in this period of economic and social turmoil was that of Theodore Roosevelt, whose services to the nation promise to place him, in the perspective of time, high among the Presidents whose names are most honored by their countrymen. The emergency was one to call for a strong man, with sufficiently keen intelligence and a sufficiently high moral sense to understand the real issues which the trusts had raised and the dangers involved therein, and with sufficient courage, determination and strength of will to apply relentlessly the remedies necessary to bring the nation, in the fulness of time, back to sanity, moderation and fair dealing in business and public affairs and to a recognition and acceptance of the principle that in a democracy special privileges, outside the letter as well as the spirit of the law, are not for the rich and powerful. That President Roosevelt was such a man and that he accomplished this colossal task in the face of hostility and criticism which would have overwhelmed a man of less stern fibre, seems likely to be the verdict of history.

XX

LITERATURE, FINE ARTS AND EDUCATION

The inference might be drawn from the foregoing chapters that since the Civil War material interests had absorbed the entire energies of the American people. Such an inference, however, would be incorrect. There is no doubt that purely intellectual and æsthetic pursuits suffered by reason of the superior attractiveness of the rich prizes which business and professional careers offered to the ambitious youth of the nation, in a period when the vast natural resources of the country were inviting development and when the material demands of a rapidly increasing population were creating numberless opportunities for the acquirement of wealth. Yet these pursuits were not wholly neglected. In the last forty years America has produced a few books, a number of paintings, some pieces of sculpture and many buildings which, it is not unreasonable to think, may give pleasure, intellectual or æsthetic or both, to generations to come.

Of the books that have appeared in this period Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi River* and his *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* have taken a high rank because of the vividness, truth, human sympathy and humor with which they portray life and character in the Mississippi Valley in the decades preceding the Civil War. The fame of Walt Whitman is greater abroad, especially in France, than it is among his own countrymen, who have thus far

failed to recognize in his verse the voice of a prophet of American democracy or the evidence of creative genius. He has an original force, however, that is still to be reckoned with, and the final place, if any, which he is to occupy in American literature may remain in doubt a long time.

The realization of the fact that the Civil War was the last act in the tragedy of slavery and ended an epoch of momentous dramatic interest in the life of the nation seemed to have the effect of turning the minds of many men to historical research. Mr. Rhodes, in his history of the United States from the compromise of 1850, and Henry Adams, in his brilliant narrative of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, made enviable names for themselves, while the works of McMaster, H. H. Bancroft and Schouler contain much that will be of service to the historian of the future. Few if any writers on American history from the earliest times to the adoption of the Constitution have reached so wide a popular audience as has John Fiske, whose philosophical cast of mind and whose clearness and simplicity of style in the exposition of abstruse subjects had already been revealed in his earlier *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* and in other books on different aspects of the theory of evolution, to which he made substantial original contributions. Professor Sloane, meanwhile, found congenial themes for noteworthy historical works in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods in France.

Scholarship and criticism too have been enriched by the painstaking labors of a few men—Professor Child, through his edition of the English and Scottish ballads; Professor Lounsbury, through his illuminating works on Chaucer and about Shakespeare; Dr. Furness, through his *Variorum*

Shakespeare; Professor James, through his contributions to psychology, remarkable at once for their imaginative originality and their extreme felicity of phrase. Admiral Mahan, by his exposition of the important part which sea power has played in the relations of nations, has made an important contribution to the philosophy of history, winning thereby for himself an international reputation. President Lowell's work on *The Government of England* has taken rank with Bryce's *American Commonwealth* for the thoroughness and soundness of its scholarship. Characterized by extraordinary subtlety of understanding and by a catholic and yet a discriminating taste, the four books which Mr. Brownell has published, *French Traits*, *French Art*, *Victorian Prose Masters* and *American Prose Masters*, have given him a commanding place in the small group of American critics of art and literature. Mr. Woodberry's books also, especially his *Appreciation of Literature* and his lectures on race power in literature called *The Torch*, reveal unusual breadth of view and rare penetration, and are of stimulating suggestiveness.

It is significant, moreover, that Henry James felt obliged to expatriate himself in order to find a congenial atmosphere in which to write his novels and stories. The conclusion might fairly be drawn from this circumstance that imaginative literature requires other conditions for its development than those which have prevailed for the last thirty or forty years in the United States, and Mark Twain's books seem to make him the sole and distinguished exception which proves the rule. A higher point has been reached in the short stories than in all but a very few of the novels of this period — by Bret Harte, for example, in three

or four of his sketches of life and character among the Argonauts of '49, who ought to have included just such types as he pictures, even if, as is charged, they did not; by Mr. Page in *Marse Chan* and *Meh Lady;* by Mr. Cable in *Old Creole Days;* and perhaps by Miss Jewett and Miss Wilkins in their sketches of New England village characters.

Mr. Howells is at his best in *The Rise of Silas Lapham* and in *A Hazard of New Fortunes*, possibly because in these two novels he seemed to be less conscious than elsewhere of the obligations of his theory of realism. It was probably inevitable that the application of this theory to the portrayal in fiction of the New England life and character of the 'seventies and 'eighties of the last century should produce somewhat disappointing results; and yet the high and serious purpose which has controlled Mr. Howells's long, varied and honorable literary career, as well as his consistently excellent craftsmanship throughout that career, entitle him to a foremost place among the novelists of this period. In sharp contrast to Mr. Howells's New England were the warmth and brilliancy of color, the sparkling gayety and the romantic glamour of the picture of Creole Louisiana in the early years of the century which Mr. Cable drew in *The Grandissimes.* Mrs. Wharton's brilliant intellectual qualities and her extraordinary versatility, with her technical proficiency, make her by far the most interesting figure in American fiction at the present time, despite the lack of ideals and of human sympathy in the characters which she portrays.

Other forms of imaginative literature have fared, under these conditions, even worse, poetry having languished notwithstanding the brave but only partially successful

attemps of Lanier, Stoddard, Stedman, Aldrich and others to give it vitality and charm. Time indeed may prove that the Hoosier poet, James Whitcomb Riley, has sung the simple joys and sorrows of his people in verse more enduring than that of any one of his contemporaries.

Under the stimulus of the material prosperity of the country and despite the commercial atmosphere in which men like Sargent and Whistler found it impossible to work, the cultivation and practice of the fine arts went on assiduously in this period. The Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 was a potent influence in arousing a popular interest in art matters. It was in this year that George Fuller exhibited the first collection of his pictures in Boston, and it was at about this time also that a group of young American painters, returning with high ideals from Paris and Munich, organized the Society of American Artists and exerted a decided influence upon the technique of the art. It was in 1876 too that John La Farge began the task of providing a decorative scheme for the interior of Trinity Church in Boston — the virtual beginning of mural painting in the United States. In the years that followed George Inness and Homer Martin produced some notable landscapes, while the work in different fields of men like Sargent, Whistler, La Farge, Vedder, Wyant and Winslow Homer was of a character to win for them a wide reputation. The names of the men who have attained rank in sculpture are few. Ward, the pioneer in this art, was followed by Saint-Gaudens, probably the most distinguished of the small group; Warner, French, MacMonnies and Bartlett, several of whom are still alive and may win further honors.

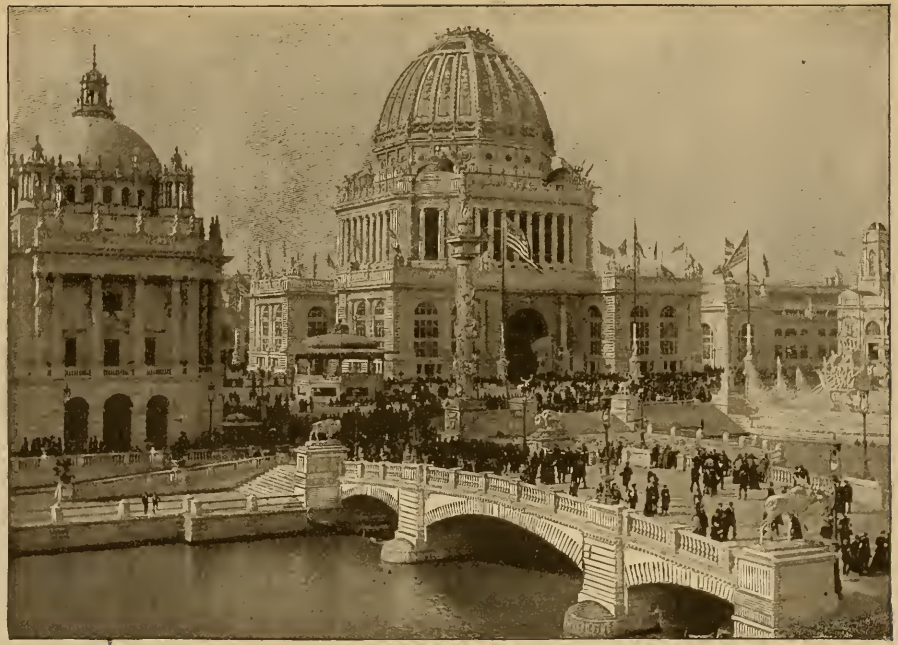
Two important results affecting the development of the fine arts in the United States followed from the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. The dormant æsthetic sense of the people of the middle West was quickened into life and activity, and the lesson of the intimate relation of sculpture and of mural painting to architecture was impressed upon all sensitive observers. Since that time art museums have been founded in all the large and in not a few of the smaller cities of the middle West, and art societies with various aims have been organized without number. Early in 1912 an art museum costing half a million dollars was opened in Toledo, and Detroit and Minneapolis had similar projects well in hand. Nor is interest in art confined to the middle West; it extends as far south as New Orleans and as far west as Los Angeles. In both of these cities plans are maturing for the founding of art museums.

With the rapid growth of the population and with a corresponding increase in the needs, as well as in the wealth, of states, municipalities, corporations and public and private societies, it was inevitable that architecture should flourish in this era of activity and expansion. And this art owes not a little to Daniel H. Burnham, the chief architect and director of works of the exposition at Chicago, who was responsible for the general scheme of the buildings, courts, lagoons, etc., the stately and beautiful effect of which left a deep and abiding impression upon all visitors, and the educational value of which was of the highest. The buildings, public and private, which have been erected in the principal cities of the country in the twenty years since the Chicago Exposition was held are monuments to the skill and taste of a remarkable group of men—

McKim, Gilbert, White, Hastings, Post, Flagg, Cook, Sullivan and Cram, to mention only a few of the many that might also be named, all of whom have shown themselves to be worthy successors to those leaders in the latter-day development of architecture in America, Richardson and Hunt. The growth of interest in mural painting naturally followed this activity in architecture; and in the last twenty-five years public buildings in nearly every part of the country have been enriched with paintings by the best-known artists of the period—La Farge, Blashfield, Sargent, Abbey, Simmons, Alexander, Cox, Turner, and Millet, to mention no others.

The future, moreover, seems to be full of promise. For it is doubtful if in any other country or in any other age has there been so vast an expenditure of time, energy and money as in the United States during the last quarter of a century, having for its objects the cultivation of taste and of an appreciation of beauty and the training of the intelligence. The lavish generosity of American merchant princes in founding and endowing institutions devoted to education, philanthropy or art, has gone hand in hand with an equally lavish expenditure of millions of dollars for the enrichment of museums and collections, public and private, with treasures of all branches of art gathered from the four quarters of the globe. So general has this custom become that one can scarcely take up a morning newspaper without finding in it the record of some munificent gift or bequest of this nature.

The possession of wealth and of taste cultivated by foreign travel has made art collectors of not a few American millionaires, who in the last twenty years, and more



THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING AT THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION AT CHICAGO IN 1893.

particularly in the opening decade of the present century, despoiled the private galleries of Europe of many of their choicest possessions. Such private collections as those of Mr. Morgan, Mr. Frick, Mr. Altman, Mrs. Havemeyer, and Mr. Huntington in New York; Mr. Johnson and Mr. Widener, of Philadelphia; Mr. Freer, of Detroit, and Mrs. Gardner, of Boston, to name only a few of those that might be included in such a list, are destined ultimately to find their way into public galleries and to exert an influence upon the taste of the people that can scarcely be over-estimated. The extent of this influence may be inferred from the fact that in the year 1911 the attendance at the Art Institute of Chicago was more than 700,000. All schools of painting, to say nothing of other classes of art objects, are represented in these collections. They are especially rich in works by the Dutch masters, more than eighty examples of Rembrandt now being owned by American collectors and American art museums.

Since the opening of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York in 1883 interest in music has broadened greatly. As a result of this increased interest Boston, Chicago and Philadelphia, as well as New York and Brooklyn, have had regular opera seasons, while the Chicago company, in 1911–1912, went to St. Paul and St. Louis for brief seasons, and also gave a few performances in Baltimore, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. New Orleans meanwhile has enjoyed its annual season of French opera, which can almost be called indigenous.

Not many years ago Boston, New York and Chicago were the only cities in the country maintaining permanent orchestras. Gradually similar organizations were

established in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and several of the larger cities of the central states, notably Cincinnati, St. Paul, Minneapolis, St. Louis and Kansas City, while orchestras have been maintained for longer or shorter periods in various cities in the Pacific coast states, Portland, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Few, if any, of these organizations have been self-supporting, but the public-spirited generosity of Mr. Higginson, of Boston, and of the men who meet the annual deficit of the opera in New York, has aroused a spirit of emulation in other cities, with the result that more good music, orchestral and operatic, is to be heard annually in the larger cities of the United States than can be heard anywhere save in two or three cities in Germany and perhaps in Paris.

The drama, on the other hand, has lagged far behind music in this period. The substitution of the "star" system for the stock companies as they existed in the 'eighties and 'nineties of the last century has brought about a decided deterioration in the character of the plays produced as well as in the art of acting. Almost alone among native dramatists Augustus Thomas has pictured American character and conditions with intelligence, insight, and humor, and with rare constructive skill. Some persons, moreover, of sanguine temperament find encouragement for the future in the work of several young playwrights with Harvard affiliations who have come to the fore in recent years.

If much has been done since the Civil War to encourage the practice and the appreciation of the fine arts, more yet has been done to multiply in all directions the facilities for popular and advanced education. The multi-

millionaires of the country, largely self-educated men themselves, have been foremost in this work. The pioneer among American philanthropists of this type was George Peabody, who left several millions to be devoted to the cause of education in the South. John D. Rockefeller is Mr. Peabody's legitimate successor, for one of the chief objects of the General Education Board, the various funds of which contributed by Mr. Rockefeller amount to more than $50,000,000, is the promotion of practical farming and of high-school education in the southern states. The advancement of higher education throughout the country is also one of the purposes to which the General Education Board devotes its income, Mr. Rockefeller's interest in this work having been already abundantly shown by the millions which he has given, since it was founded in 1892, to the University of Chicago.

It seems scarcely necessary to refer to Mr. Carnegie's benefactions to the cause of both popular and higher education, so well known are they. He has given nearly $60,000,000 to build libraries, $22,000,000 to advance scientific research through the Carnegie Institution of Washington, $20,000,000 to build and equip the technical schools at Pittsburgh known as the Carnegie Institute, $15,000,000 to provide retiring allowances for college professors, $10,000,000 to further the cause of peace among nations, and a like sum to reward acts of heroism.

This list, at the head of which stand the names of Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Carnegie, might be extended at length by reference to Mr. Morgan's gifts to the Harvard Medical School, to Isaac C. Wyman's bequest to Princeton University, to the Ranken gift of $3,000,000 to the Ranken

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Trade School of St. Louis, to Mr. Pulitzer's bequests to Columbia University for a school of journalism and for other objects, and to many equally princely benefactions. The foregoing, however, will indicate in a general way the scale of really royal munificence upon which the facilities in this country for popular, technical and higher education have been and are still being enlarged and extended.

At the foundation of these multifarious intellectual and æsthetic activities lie the public-school system of the nation and the institutions, public and private, for higher education. Few people have any adequate conception of the extent and the value of the educational machinery of the country, or of the cost of keeping this vast and complicated machinery in operation. The expense to the people of the single state of New York for educating its pupils in the year 1911 was nearly $77,000,000. In the interval of thirty-nine years between 1869–1870 and 1908–1909 the average annual expenditure for educating a pupil in the public schools of the entire country increased from $12.71 to $31.65, representing an advance in the annual cost charge per capita of population from $1.64 to $4.45, the number of pupils enrolled increasing in this interval from 6,871,522 to 17,506,175. Meanwhile the value of the property devoted to the uses of the public schools grew from somewhat over $130,000,000 to nearly $968,000,000.

In the field of higher education one finds that the number of universities, colleges and technological schools from which the government received reports for the year ended June 30, 1910, was six hundred and two. Of these institutions, states or municipalities controlled eighty-nine, while five hundred and thirteen were under the manage-

ment of private corporations. Colleges for women, which forty years ago could be counted on the fingers of one hand, have multiplied until now they number more than a hundred in the United States. The aggregate enrolment in the six hundred and two institutions for higher education reporting in 1910 to the government, all departments —preparatory, collegiate, graduate and professional, being included, was 301,818. The value of the grounds and buildings owned by these institutions was estimated at about $280,000,000; their productive funds amounted to nearly $260,000,000, yielding an annual income of over $11,500,000; and their total annual receipts from all sources were over $80,000,000.

The most noticeable tendency of recent years in the field of education has been in the direction of industrial and trade schools similar to those existing throughout Germany, the usual distinction being that industrial schools deal with the uses and products of machinery and trade schools with the use of tools. This tendency has revealed itself not only in the public schools in cities and towns throughout the country, but in the institutions of higher learning in the middle West where there has been a decided drift away from the humanities and toward studies of a practical character, especially scientific agriculture. At the end of 1911 in the single state of Minnesota there were no fewer than thirty agricultural high-schools receiving state aid to the extent of $2,500 each yearly, while there were twenty other high-schools maintaining courses in agriculture without state aid. Other neighboring states are following the example of Minnesota in establishing agricultural schools, the movement having the powerful

support of the various bankers' associations. Boston has had in successful operation for a number of years a commercial high-school modelled on those to be found in every large German city, the purposes of which are to instruct young men in modern languages, in international business finance and business usage, and in the economical and efficient management of large industrial plants. High-schools of this type are sure to multiply when their serviceableness becomes more widely known.

The causes of this eagerness on the part of the people to acquire instruction in practical pursuits are to be found, of course, in the higher prizes which expanding industries and trades offer to trained minds and skilled hands, and in the increasing difficulty of securing such prizes, under modern competition, without this special training and this exceptional skill. In time the effects of this movement may be to modify materially the aims and methods of the public-school system throughout the country.

Among the institutions of higher learning in the East the old ideals have been fairly well maintained. Athletic sports in the colleges, however, have everywhere assumed more and more importance each year. Foot-ball has almost ceased, in the judgment of many observers, to be a sport, there being few more serious pursuits, outside, perhaps, the Church and the Bench. The spirit of devotion to Alma Mater and of loyalty to college traditions, which these young barbarians carry to a foot-ball contest, is as lofty and almost as awe-inspiring as was the spirit of patriotism which Leonidas and his Spartans bore to Thermopylæ. The American temperament, which accomplishes wonderful results when working in other channels,—as witness

Commander Peary's success in reaching the North Pole in the spring of 1909, after repeated failures in former years,—seems to be the chief obstacle in the way at present of a more moderate and a saner treatment of this particular sport.

With the increase in population and wealth throughout the country, the size of the classes in the larger universities has doubled and even trebled in thirty years, involving marked changes in the relations of students with each other and with the officers of instruction. That these changes have been altogether beneficial in their effects is by no means certain. The friends of the smaller colleges claim for them advantages which cannot easily be disproved.

Thus it appears, finally, that the really important contributions which the people of the United States have made to civilization have been not so much of an intellectual as of a political, economic or religious nature. They were summarized by President Eliot of Harvard, in 1896, as "peace-keeping, religious toleration, the development of manhood suffrage, the welcoming of new-comers and the diffusion of well-being." Perhaps in the course of another hundred years there may be evolved an American race-mind, to use Mr. Woodberry's phrase, formed from the fusion of the native stock with the Italian, Slavic, Jewish, Scandinavian and German immigrants to whom this country has accorded a welcome, which will express itself in literature of an enduring character. If one would seek an expression of the American race-mind of the last quarter of a century, he must look for it in the irregular skyline of the towering buildings in lower New York; in the

colossal works of the Panama Canal; in the boldly projected railway that spans the coral islands from the mainland of Florida to Key West; in the great Roosevelt dam in Arizona which confines the waters of the Salt River in a reservoir of enormous capacity for irrigation purposes and for the generation of power; and in monumental public buildings like the Pennsylvania Railway Station in New York, in which architectural and engineering problems are solved in combination.

XXI

SOURCES OF THE NATION'S WEALTH

With all the advantages, therefore, of youth and of the activity, energy and industry that are characteristic of youth, of vast natural resources and of a quickening intelligence, the people of the United States face the future with confidence and hopefulness. During the last forty years the growth of the population of the country, due partly to natural causes and partly to the foreigner's zeal for political and religious freedom and for industrial opportunity, has been remarkable: from thirty-eight and a half million in 1870 to fifty million in 1880; to sixty-two and a half million in 1890; to seventy-six million in 1900; and to ninety-two million in 1910. These people are distributed over forty-eight states having a total area of more than three million square miles, the centre of population being in the city of Bloomington, Ind. If the inhabitants of the outlying dependencies of the nation, the Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska and Guam, be included in the enumeration, it will be found that in 1910 more than a hundred million people were living under the flag of the United States. The total wealth of the nation in 1910, as estimated, with the usual reservations, by the chief statistician of the Bureau of the Census, Joseph A. Hill, was $142,000,000,000, figures that are too big to be comprehensible, except, perhaps, in comparison with the total wealth of Great Britain, which was estimated by the Lon-

don *Economist* to have been approximately $68,000,000,000 in 1909, less than half that of the United States in the following year.

Of the people in the United States more than one-third were found by the census of 1910 to be either of foreign birth or of foreign parentage. In New England and in the middle Atlantic states this foreign element constituted considerably more than a half of the entire population. The foreign-born whites in the middle Atlantic states increased in the years from 1900 to 1910 more than twice as fast as did the native whites. The total number of immigrants who arrived in the country during the decade was heavy, nearly nine million; and yet, owing to the return migration, especially following the panic of 1907, and to deaths, the net increase in the foreign-born population was only a little over three million, and the percentage of foreign-born whites in the population was found to be no greater in 1910 than it was in 1870.

These immigrants came for the most part from central and southeastern Europe and from southern Italy. The south Italians, whom the immigration authorities differentiate racially from those who come from north of Rome, the Hebrews and the Poles made up the most numerous groups. Then came, in order of numbers, the Germans, Scandinavians, Irish and English; and, after them, the Slovaks, north Italians, Magyars, the Croats and Serbs and the Greeks. The races that sent the largest percentages of their populations to the United States were the Hebrew, from western Russia, Poland and Austria-Hungary; the Slovaks, driven from northern Hungary by the persecution of the Magyars who regard them and treat

them as an inferior race; and the Croats and Serbs, from the region bordering on the northern Adriatic.

The majority of the more than nine million immigrants who came to America between 1880 and 1900 settled in Minnesota, the Dakotas, Michigan, Wisconsin and in other states of the middle and far West, attracted by the farming opportunities which the virgin soil of this region presented. Since 1900, however, the tide has set toward the industrial centres of the New England and the middle Atlantic states, the children of earlier immigrants showing a disposition, however, to migrate to the north central states. As a result of this tendency toward the manufacturing towns, practically a third of the white population in Rhode Island in 1910 was foreign-born. Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, North Dakota and Minnesota were not far behind Rhode Island, with percentages of foreign-born whites varying from nearly a third to slightly more than a quarter of the population. When, however, the number of those born in the United States of foreign parentage was added to the number of foreign-born whites, it was found that in no fewer than thirteen states this foreign element was in the majority. In fact, this foreign element constituted nearly three-quarters of the entire population of Minnesota and of North Dakota, nearly or quite two-thirds of the population of Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, and more than half the population of New Jersey, Michigan, South Dakota, Montana, Utah and Illinois. In twenty-nine states, however, more than half the population consisted of native-born whites of native parentage; and in twelve states this native element represented more than two-thirds of the

population. West Virginia, in which no less than eighty-five and three-tenths per cent of the white population was of native stock, had the distinction of standing at the head of this list, the other states being Kentucky, Oklahoma, Indiana, New Mexico, Tennessee, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Maine, North Carolina and Texas.

The magnet that attracted these millions of immigrants in the present century was the American factory, iron, steel, and similar mills being, of course, included in this generic term. Under the stimulus as well as the shelter of the protective tariff the growth of these manufacturing interests in the United States has been remarkable. Half a century ago the value for a single year of the finished products of all the factories of the country was considerably less than two billion dollars; for the year 1909 this value had increased to more than twenty and a half billion dollars. Fifty years ago the annual wages paid to workmen in American factories amounted to a total of less than four hundred million dollars; for the year 1909 they came to nearly three and a half billion dollars. At the head of the list of manufacturing states stands New York. Arranged in the order of the relative value of their manufactured products for the year 1909, the twelve states following New York were Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Missouri, California, Connecticut and Minnesota. These thirteen states produced about three-quarters in value of all the manufactures of the entire country, increasing their products in five years in quantities varying from nearly a third in the case of Missouri to not far from two-thirds in the case of Michigan. The feature of this array

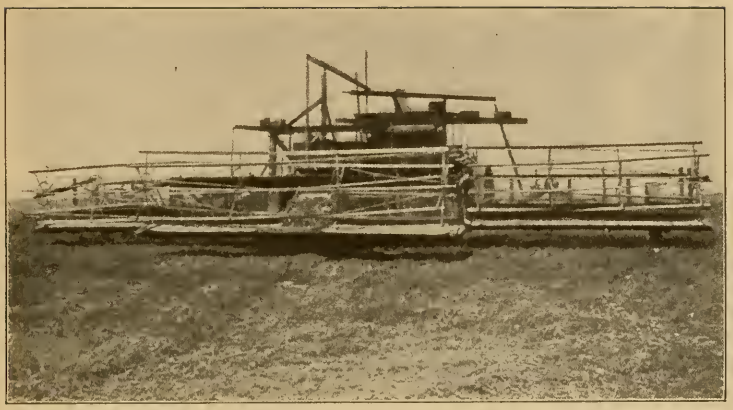
which possesses the greatest significance is to be found in the development of manufactures in the central states which, twenty-five years ago, were devoted almost exclusively to agriculture. And a further illustration of this tendency is revealed in the fact that in five years the capital invested in manufactures was more than doubled in North Dakota and Oklahoma and nearly doubled in Kansas.

Those economists who maintain that the manufacturing industries of the country have been built up in the last fifty years at the expense of other interests, and especially of farming, are able to cite not a few facts in support of their contention. Superficially considered the farming interests of the country seem to be in the highest degree prosperous. The figures of the government relating to farming are, in truth, so big as to be beyond the power of the imagination to grasp. The total value, for example, of farm lands and buildings more than doubled in the ten years from 1900 to 1910, having reached at the latter date the stupendous total of more than $34,500,000,000. The value of the farm lands even in the arid and semi-arid regions of the far West increased more than threefold in this interval, the result partly of irrigation and partly of natural development. The values, too, placed upon the various crops seem to those unacquainted with the facts almost beyond belief. The value of the corn harvested in 1911, corn having dethroned cotton and having become king in America of all the products of the soil, was over $1,500,000,000; of the cotton, more than $750,000,000; of the hay, nearly $700,000,000; of the wheat, about $543,000,000; of the oats, nearly $415,000,000, and so on. Ac-

cording to the estimates of the Department of Agriculture the value of all the farm products of the year 1911, including cattle, meats and dairy products, reached the incomprehensible total of not far from $8,500,000,000.

These figures, impressive as they are, do not, however, tell the whole story. In the first place, while improvements and additional acreage brought under cultivation will account for a certain portion of the enormous advance in the values attached to farm lands and buildings in the decade, one of the leading causes of this advance was the general appreciation of land values which, of course, added nothing to the real economic wealth of the country. Then, again, farming as an industry failed to hold its own with the growth of the population of the country during this period. From 1900 to 1910 the population increased twenty-one per cent, while the percentage of the population engaged in farming decreased from thirty-five to thirty-two. Moreover, the percentage of improved farm lands, instead of increasing proportionally in the decade, as it should have done, actually declined from five and a half to five and two-tenths per capita of population. In the same period the number of wage-earners in American factories increased about forty per cent. In other words, while the growth of manufactures was about twice as rapid as the increase in population, agriculture failed signally to keep pace with that increase.

The same tendencies, from the field to the factory, from agriculture to manufactures, are observable in Europe and especially in Germany, and are due to the mighty struggle, silent but constant, which is going on among the most progressive nations for industrial and commercial suprem-



TWO VIEWS OF A GIANT HARVESTER, AS USED IN CALIFORNIA.
Cuts, threshes and sacks grain at the rate of from 1,500 to 1,800 sacks a day.

acy. The effects of the unprecedented industrial expansion and of the comparative neglect of agriculture in the United States have shown themselves in greatly decreased exports and in materially increased imports of foodstuffs, changes so pronounced in character as to be accepted by economists as in themselves a sufficient explanation of the high prices that prevail for these commodities. In the twelve years, for example, from 1900 to 1911, inclusive, exports from the United States of breadstuffs declined from $251,000,000 to $136,000,000, and of meats and dairy products from $187,000,000 to $136,000,000. In the same period the imports into the country of these foodstuffs increased respectively from $2,000,000 to $15,000,000 and from $3,000,000 to $14,000,000 in value. Interpreted, these facts mean that the consumers of foodstuffs in the United States have multiplied so much more rapidly in recent years than the producers of these commodities, that each season there is a smaller surplus for export and a greater demand for foreign supplies.

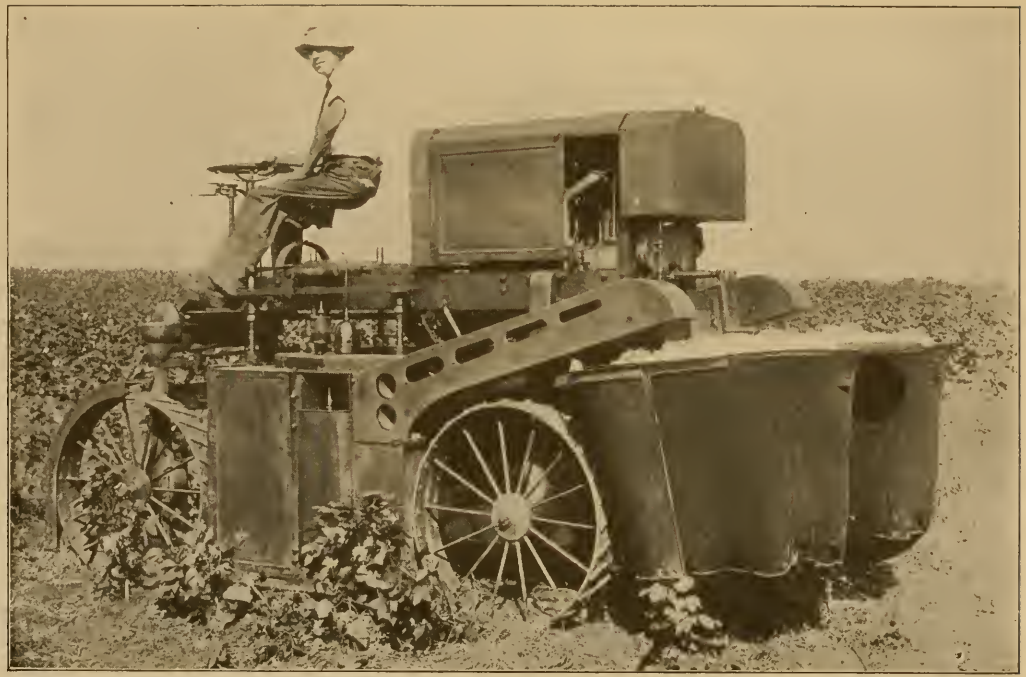
The only remedies for this condition of affairs are increased farm acreage or improved farming methods. Apparently there is ample room for both remedies to be applied. For the single state of Minnesota, which one is apt to think of as a huge granary, had, in 1911, no fewer than forty-five million acres of good farming land awaiting cultivation,—more than twice as much as was under the plough. Government experts, moreover, assert that American farmers should produce two, and might produce three, bushels of corn where they now produce one, the average for the 1911 crop having been less than thirty bushels to the acre. The same defective methods also are in use in the cultivation of

potatoes, the average yield of which per acre has declined steadily in recent years—from one hundred and six bushels in 1909 to about eighty-one bushels in 1911.

Next in importance to the agricultural are the mineral resources of the country, from which vast stores of wealth are derived each year. Arranged in the order of their value for the year 1910, the principal mineral products were coal, iron, clay, copper, petroleum, gold, stone, natural gas, cement and lead. In the last few years the quantity of coal mined in the United States has been in the neighborhood of half a billion tons annually, the proportion of bituminous to anthracite being approximately five and a half to one. The value of this coal at the mines would be considerably over $600,000,000. As the production of iron is sometimes cited as an index of the industrial position of a country, it is perhaps worthy of note that in 1911 the quantity produced in the United States was more than 23,500,000,000 tons as against less than 15,500,000,000 tons for Germany and about 10,000,000 tons for Great Britain. The United States doubled its output of iron in the eight years from 1882 to 1890, and, in the thirteen years following, the output was again doubled. After 1903, owing to the increased demand from industrial plants, the production of iron advanced with great rapidity and with occasional marked recessions. The growth of production in Germany proceeded meanwhile more slowly but more regularly, while in Great Britain it remained practically stationary. In 1911 the United States produced two-thirds of the world's supply of petroleum, about 200,000,000 barrels, of which perhaps 73,000,000 barrels came from California wells. Of the gold mined in the world in 1910,

estimated by the director of the United States Mint to have been about $455,000,000—less in value, by the way, than the corn or the cotton or the hay or the wheat crop of the United States alone in the single year 1911—American mines, including those in Alaska, yielded not far from $100,000,000.

The coal and iron mines of northern Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee, with the establishment of textile, cotton-seed oil and other industries, and with the adoption of a more diversified range of farming, have brought to the South, in the last thirty years, a degree of prosperity nearly if not fully proportionate to that enjoyed by other parts of the country. Great tracts of rich land in Louisiana, Mississippi and Arkansas have been reclaimed by drainage and made available for agricultural uses. Throughout this region corn is replacing cotton as the staple crop. In all parts of the South, moreover, the people, through varied manufactures and diversified farm products, have become independent of the North, and have at the same time acquired a financial and economic position of far solider strength than any they ever occupied. Important results, political and social as well as economic, seem likely to follow from these changes. As one result, for instance, of the development of manufacturing industries, sentiment in many parts of the South has at last become friendly to the principle underlying a protective tariff. The great need of the South is immigration. Northern capital in large amounts has gone into the South in the last twenty years. Foreign immigrants, however, continue to show the same unwillingness to compete as laborers with negroes that they showed before slavery was abolished, and how



THE PRICE-CAMPBELL COTTON-PICKING MACHINE, WHICH DOES THE WORK OF FIFTY PERSONS.

to overcome this prejudice is one of the problems that slavery has bequeathed to the South.

One of the important American industries not heretofore included in this general summary, in which the South is the leader, is the fishing business. The centre of the fisheries of the Atlantic coast in 1908, according to a special census taken for that year, was in Chesapeake Bay, fully forty per cent of the total of ninety-four thousand fishermen hailing from Maryland and Virginia. If North Carolina and Florida were to be included, it would be found that these four southern states possessed not far from two-thirds of the men engaged in this industry, Massachusetts and Maine contributing only about one-tenth. The value of the fisheries of the country in that year was more than fifty million dollars, a single variety of shell-fish, oysters, representing nearly a third of this total.

In comparison with the foregoing aspects of the enormously valuable domestic trade in the United States, among the ninty-two million people who, in 1910, constituted the "home market," the foreign trade of the country seems almost insignificant. The great bulk of the exports from the United States, consisting, of course, of the surplus products which the people of the country cannot consume, is composed of breadstuffs, meats and dairy products, manufactures and raw materials for manufactures, like cotton and copper, and various forms of petroleum. The total exports for the year 1911 amounted to somewhat over $2,000,000,000 in value; the imports, to about $1,500,000,000. If, however, these figures be placed alongside the total values of the farm products, the mines and the manufactures for the year, the relative unimpor-

tance of the foreign trade of the country becomes at once apparent.

The value, for example, of the manufactures ready for use which were exported from the United States in 1911 was probably less than four per cent of the total value of the manufactures of the country for that year. The most important of these manufactures were the products of the iron and steel mills; and yet in 1910, the latest year for which comparative figures are available, the United States was far behind its two chief competitors in this profitable branch of trade. The values of the exports of manufactured iron and steel in that year for the three leading nations were, approximately, $377,000,000 for the United Kingdom, $348,000,000 for Germany, and $232,000,000 for the United States. Higher general cost of production in the United States, due to wages and to other factors, prevented American iron and steel mills from meeting German and British competition in many lines of this valuable international trade. The greatest encouragement for the future, however, is to be found in the steady, if slow, increase, despite the relative high cost of production, in the exports of American iron and steel, these exports having more than doubled in value in the decade from 1901 to 1911. Less than one-tenth of all of these exports and imports for the fiscal year 1911 were carried in vessels flying the American flag, the profits of more than nine-tenths of this carrying trade going to foreign shipping.

In conclusion, the problems which confront the people of the United States are neither few nor easy of solution. They are, broadly speaking, of three classes: First, economic questions of national concern relating to the en-

couragement of agriculture and the education of farmers; to the government supervision and regulation, especially as regards the issue of capital and the enforcement of publicity, of corporations engaged in interstate commerce; to the readjustment of the tariff schedules, and perhaps of the wage rate, so as to permit American manufacturers to sell their surplus products in foreign markets at a profit; and to the revival of the American merchant marine in order that a larger share of the international carrying trade may be secured for United States vesesls.

In the second class are the new political ideas toward which the people of the middle West and of the far western states have shown themselves to be rather more hospitable than the more conservative people of the East. These new ideas include not only those devices for remedying some of the defects, real or imagined, of representative government, the initiative, the referendum and the recall, but also direct nominations and preferential primaries for Presidential nominees. The main purpose of all of these novel expedients is to restore the rule of the people; to enable the people to express and to carry out their will regarding candidates, legislation, and tenure of office directly instead of through delegated authority. Less radical in character than these political innovations have been the experiments in many parts of the country with the commission form of government for cities, along the line of the plan first put into successful operation in Galveston, no fewer than two hundred cities, in thirty-four of the forty-eight states of the Union, having adopted this form of government by the spring of 1912. And meanwhile the movement in favor of giving votes to women has

made such progress in the far West as to encourage its supporters to believe that only time will be necessary to convince the people of the central and eastern states of its justice and wisdom.

Not the least important, moreover, of the questions that press for solution are those affecting, in the third place, the relations of capital, labor and society in general. Foremost among these questions is the suppression of crimes of violence on the part of organized labor. Others relate to such matters as employer's liability, the prohibition of child labor in factories, the safeguarding of life in extra-hazardous employments like mining and the operation of railroads, and the maintenance of hygienic conditions for laborers of both sexes.

Difficult of solution as some of these problems may seem, they are no more formidable in size and are far less discouraging in character than those with which the men of forty years ago found themselves confronted when scandalous dishonesty prevailed in public life, when municipal extravagance and corruption were wide-spread and brazen, and when the delusion of fiat money was running riot throughout a large part of the country. And, to go back still further, how insignificant they seem, even when taken together, compared with the mighty problem of saving the very life of the nation which the immortal Lincoln, with patience, courage and infinite faith in the American people whom he knew so well, faced in the spring of 'sixty-one!

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